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[No. 1.]

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Publications

THE

ORIGINAL JOURNAL
93362
OF

GENERAL SOLOMON LOVELL,

KEPT

DURING THE PENOBCOT EXPEDITION, 1779:

WITH A

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE

BY

GILBERT NASH.

TOGETHER WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1879-80.

PUBLISHED BY
THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1881.

BOSTON:
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WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED APRIL 12, 1879.

OFFICERS FOR 1880.

PRESIDENT,	ELIAS RICHARDS, Esq.
VICE-PRESIDENT,	JOHN J. LOUD, Esq.
RECORDING SECRETARY,	GILBERT NASH, Esq.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,	REV. ANSON TITUS, JR.
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LIBRARIAN,	MISS CARRIE A. BLANCHARD.

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The above officers *ex officio*, and Rev. LUCIEN H. FRARY.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

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LIBRARY COMMITTEE:

The PRESIDENT and SECRETARIES, *ex officio*.

A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

IN presenting to the public a volume from the Weymouth Historical Society, the questions will naturally be suggested, What is this Society? and what is its history? Perhaps no better answer can be given than a sketch of its origin and a brief record of its proceedings.

The first entry upon its records is the following document:

"The absence of any historical organization in the Town of Weymouth, for the collection and preservation of records, traditions and facts, historical, genealogical and geographical, led to the preparation of the following paper, which explains itself, and which was circulated in March, 1879:

"We, the subscribers, believing it to be of the highest importance that the ancient records should be collected and preserved, and that the time has fully come when some systematic effort should be made to do this, recommend the organization of an association having such an object in view; its meetings to be held in some convenient place, as often as may be necessary to carry out

the contemplated object ; and we agree to do what we can to further the interests of such an association, by aiding in its formation and support, by gathering records and traditions to be considered at its meetings and placed upon its records or files, or published, as deemed most expedient, and to encourage by whatever means we may the objects of its organization ; and we further suggest that an initiatory meeting be called as soon as ten names are obtained to this paper."

The paper was signed by the following gentlemen, viz.: Gilbert Nash, Frank W. Lewis, Samuel W. Reed, John J. Loud, Anson Titus, Jr., Charles G. Easterbrook, Everett C. Bumpus, Elias Richards, Augustus J. Richards, W. H. Clapp, Lucien H. Frary, J. W. Armington and F. P. Chapin.

A meeting was called for March 22, 1879 ; but owing to a severe storm and a misunderstanding in giving the notice, only four persons were present. The meeting was therefore adjourned to the evening of Saturday, March 29, when the following signers of the paper above mentioned, namely, Elias Richards, Everett C. Bumpus, Frank W. Lewis, John J. Loud, Samuel W. Reed, William H. Clapp, Lucien H. Frary, Anson Titus, Jr., and Gilbert Nash, met at the office of Elias Richards, Esq., at Weymouth Landing, for the purpose suggested.

The meeting was called to order by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr., and organized by the choice of Elias Richards, Esq., for chairman, and Gilbert Nash for secretary. A plan for a permanent organization was presented by Rev. Mr. Titus, which was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Titus, Lewis and Nash, with instructions to consider and report at the next meeting.

At a second meeting held at the same place, on Saturday evening, April 12, 1879, the "Weymouth

Historical Society" was formed, and the following officers elected :

<i>President,</i>	Elias Richards,
<i>Vice-President,</i>	John J. Loud,
<i>Recording Secretary, . .</i>	Gilbert Nash,
<i>Corresponding Secretary, . .</i>	Anson Titus, Jr.,
<i>Treasurer,</i>	William H. Clapp,
<i>Librarian,</i>	Samuel W. Reed,

an Executive Committee consisting of the above-named officers and Lucien H. Frary, and a Committee on Nominations consisting of Charles G. Easterbrook, Everett C. Bumpus and Augustus J. Richards.

A constitution was also adopted. The Society was thus fully organized and placed upon a working basis.

Meetings were held regularly on the first Saturday evening in each month (excepting July and August) during the year, and much interest was manifested in the operations of the Society, not only by its members, but by the towns-people, and also by historical students and others interested in historical matters in various parts of the country.

The following original papers were prepared, and read at the different meetings :

"Ancient names and Localities in Weymouth."

"Genealogies of the families of Thomas Dyer, and Thomas White, two of the earliest settlers of the town ;" found among the papers of the late Col. Asa White.

"Beals Genealogy."

"Inscriptions in the Pleasant St. Burying Ground."

"Inscriptions in The Rocks Burying Ground."

"Sketch of the Ministers of the old North Church, Weymouth ;" from the MSS. of Rev. Dr. Emerson Davis.

The above were all prepared by members of the Society. There was also prepared by Robert B. Hull, Esq., of New York, a very valuable paper upon his ancestor, Rev. Joseph Hull, of Weymouth, 1635.

The presentations of volumes, pamphlets and documents of various kinds were many and valuable ; and the Society closed its first year in circumstances of great encouragement. Its success had fully equalled the anticipations of its most enthusiastic supporters, and much historical material, which might otherwise have been lost, had been collected and put in form for preservation. Most of the papers mentioned appeared in the columns of the "Weymouth Gazette," and will be preserved upon its files. A new and growing interest in the study of historical subjects was created, which is likely to become permanent and useful.

At the annual meeting, held January 3, 1880, the old Board of officers was re-elected, with the following exceptions : Miss Carrie A. Blanchard, Librarian of the Tufts Library, in place of S. W. Reed, Esq., who declined a re-election as Librarian, but accepted a position upon the Committee on Nominations with John J. Loud, Esq., in place of Messrs. C. G. Easterbrook and Everett C. Bumpus.

The Society feeling it to be imposing too much of a burden upon their worthy President to longer accept the use of his office for a place of meeting without compensation, although it was generously and cheerfully offered, made arrangements by which the meetings have since been held in the rooms of the Tufts Library, the Trustees kindly offering their use free of expense. The library and papers were accordingly removed to that place and arranged in position to be more accessible to the public. The first meeting held there was on the evening of April 7, 1880, the time being changed from Saturday to Wednesday evening.

At the meeting of June 2, the death of Rev. George Dodson of North Weymouth was announced and appropriate action taken. This was the first death of a member of the Society since its formation. During the year 1880 the following original papers have been prepared, and read before the Society :

Two papers on "The Early Physicians of Weymouth," by Dr. F. F. Forsaith.

Two papers on "The Early Land Owners of Weymouth," by Rev. Anson Titus, Jr.

Two papers giving the "History of the Weymouth Light-Horse Troop," by Dr. C. C. Tower.

"East Weymouth in 1818," by Dea. Alvah Raymond.

"Old Spain in 1793," by Thos. F. Cleverly, Esq.

"Inscriptions in the East Weymouth Cemetery," by Martin E. Hawes, Esq.

Two papers on the "Highways, Residences and People of East Braintree in 1803," by Samuel A. Bates, Esq.

And the following by Gilbert Nash, Esq.:

"The Early Tirrells of Weymouth ;"

"Weymouth Landing, two and three generations ago ;"

"North Weymouth about 1800 ;"

"Lovell Genealogy ;"

"Inscriptions in the 'Reed' Burying Ground."

The document of most general interest, however, that the Society has furnished, and which forms the basis of this volume, is the "Private Diary of General Solomon Lovell," kept by him during the unfortunate Penobscot Expedition of 1779. It is a very interesting as well as important paper, having to do with a portion of Revolutionary history that has been too often overlooked. The document has been in the hands of Gen. Lovell's descendants since his death, and has never before seen the light.

All have been valuable papers, supplying much needed information, and are well worthy of preservation.

The Society has reached the end of its second year ; and, although it can boast of no great achievements, it can show substantial progress, and has proved itself worthy of a place among kindred societies. Weymouth has a history second in importance to few if any towns in New England, but it is yet to be written, and, in fact, a large part of the materials are still to be collected. It is the object of this Society to gather these materials.

Very many of the prominent families of the land trace their ancestry to this town, and are thus interested in its history, while many others still ignorant of their descent from Weymouth families are scattered throughout the States. It is one object of this Society to obtain such information as may be necessary to establish these important family connections, and it has already done much in this direction. A large portion of the work that has been done cannot be shown in this record, much of it being yet incomplete, or of a nature that hardly admits of notice here ; still it is important and necessary, and is steadily progressing.

The Society commends itself to the hearty sympathy and active co-operation of all societies and individuals engaged or interested in historical work.

LIST OF DONORS
FROM THE ORGANIZATION TO JANUARY 1, 1881.

NAMES.	Volumes.	Pamphlets.	Other papers.
Adlington, Francis M.,	-	3	2
Ager, Solomon (blank record books), . . .	12	-	-
Agriculture, Dep't of, Washington, D. C., .	6	-	-
Alden, Dr. Ebenezer,	1	7	1
Ames, Ellis,	-	-	1
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Bicknell, Thomas W.,	-	1	-
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NAMES.	Volumes.	Pamphlets.	Other papers.
Faxon, Mrs. Lucy J.,	—	—	3
Frary, Rev. Lucien H.,	—	1	1
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Hull, Robert B.,	—	—	1
Hunt, Eben W.,	—	—	2
Hunt, Mrs. Marcia E.,	—	1	—
Hunt, Mrs. Martha N.,	4	1	—
Huntoon, D. T. V.,	—	2	—
Langworthy, Rev. I. P., D.D.,	1	—	—
Lapham, William B.,	—	5	—
Lewis, Frank W.,	—	20	1
Lincoln, George,	1	1	1
Loud, John J. (also a picture of the old Hollis Street church, now in E. Braintree),	—	3	10
Lovell, A. A.,	—	2	—
Lovell, John P.,	—	—	1
Manson, Evan M. (an Indian relic),	—	—	—
Montcalm, Miss,	2	—	—
Nash, Gilbert,	4	4	2
Nash, Miss Louisa,	—	2	1
Nash, Oran,	1	—	—
Nash, Thomas,	—	—	28
Porter, Hon. J. W.,	1	8	—
Porter, T. B.,	—	1	—

LIST OF DONORS—*Concluded.*

NAMES.	Volumes.	Pamphlets.	Other papers.
Pratt, Edwin (one map),	—	—	—
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Reed, Quincy L. (Continental money, \$ $\frac{1}{2}$), .	—	—	5
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Richards, Elias (two relics of the late war), .	2	3	1
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State Department, Washington, D. C., .	1	—	—
Stetson, A. W. (an Indian relic), . . .	—	—	—
Stone, Rev. Edwin M.,	1	1	—
Tilden, F. H.,	1	—	—
Titus, Rev. Anson, Jr.,	—	10	1
Tower, Dr. Charles C.,	—	1	—
Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., .	5	—	—
Trufant, Horace F.,	—	1	1
Unknown,	—	1	—
War Dep't, Washington, D. C. (4 maps), .	33	3	—
Weymouth, Town of,	—	50	—
Weymouth, S., Citizens of (memorials of the Weymouth Light-Horse Troop), . . .	—	—	—
White, Amos S.,	—	10	—
White, Hon. George,	1	—	—
White, George W.,	1	1	—
Whitmarsh, Samuel F.,	—	—	5
Wildes, James L.,	—	—	1
Wilson, T. L.,	—	2	—
Winthrop, Hon. Robert C.,	—	3	—

INTRODUCTION.

THE discovery of the original Private Journal of the commander-in-chief of an important military expedition of the Revolutionary War, covering the whole time occupied by that service, is an event which justifies more than a passing notice.

The fact that such expedition resulted in failure is no sufficient reason for withholding its history, since the light of the fullest investigation, as in many parallel cases, may not only relieve a principal actor of the odium that such disaster naturally throws upon him, but may serve to restore him to his former position and reputation, with the added lustre which the details of the service alone are able to reveal; and, also, to fasten where it properly belongs, the responsibility of the result.

The Private Journal of Gen. Solomon Lovell, which is herewith published, while it may not, perhaps, present any new facts in relation to the matter of which it treats, gives a clearer insight into the details of that unfortunate affair, and affords better means of judging with whom the blame should rest.

As a private paper, not intended for the public eye, it should, and probably does give the writer's real ideas and impressions of the events he relates, as they transpired, which no public document could be expected to do. It may exhibit the partialities and prejudices of

the author, while it gives his honest opinion, and thus it becomes a valuable historical record.

It is comparatively easy, in the review of facts at the distance of years, to discover where an error was made. The knowledge afforded by subsequent events is a wonderful enlightener; but in order to form a correct judgment it is essential to obtain, as nearly as possible, all of the facts, those adverse as well as those favorable; then it may be possible to find sufficient reason for unfavorable results, without, in the slightest degree, criminating the most prominent actor.

The single fact of a divided command, each chief being wholly independent of the other, though responsible to one common authority, yet that authority so far removed as to be totally inoperative in an emergency, is judged, in ordinary campaigns, to be abundant reason to produce failure.

As commander of the land forces destined for the Penobscot Expedition, General Lovell was selected for his supposed special fitness for such a service, by men who were in a position, from long and intimate association, to know best his qualifications. He was detached in haste, poorly supplied with the means necessary to render his branch of the service successful, and actually ordered to sea before the men were raised who were to support him, and in many cases before the munitions had been more than ordered; and this, too, while the very force upon which the final result depended, was placed under the control of an independent commander; thus, when the time came that the brilliant landing of General Lovell on the bluffs of Bagaduce, on the 28th July, was effected, and it became necessary to supplement that achievement by the active co-operation of the fleet in an attack upon the enemy's shipping, and, at a blow, destroy the only remaining force that was to be feared, an excessive caution amounting to timidity

prevailed in the naval councils, the important moments were allowed to slip by unimproved, and, instead of a brilliant, successful campaign, a disgraceful defeat was the issue.

The Court of Inquiry established by the General Court, after a most thorough investigation, wholly exonerated General Lovell and placed the blame of the disaster upon his associate, Commodore Saltonstall; and the general verdict of subsequent scholars who have examined the subject has sustained that finding.

The Journal of General Lovell, published with this, affords most valuable *ex parte* evidence in favor of this same conclusion; and from the internal evidence which it bears, it is certainly a candid and honest relation of an affair, which, while it reflects no credit upon the expedition as a whole, does not suggest any dishonor on the part of the writer, who is very careful to charge dishonorable intentions in no single instance upon any of the officers associated with him in the command.

The document has lain for these many years among the few private papers of General Lovell that remain, unnoticed, until its recent accidental discovery; and it has been thought best, in the interest of historical research, to present it, *verbatim*, to the public. With that end in view, the paper was read before the Weymouth Historical Society, which has taken the necessary steps to issue the present volume, and which has throughout received the generous support of James Lovell Little, Esq., of Boston, a grandson of General Lovell, and who also has other interests from the fact that his father, Luther Little, who married General Lovell's daughter Hannah (see Genealogical Table), and his uncle, George Little, were both more or less connected with General Lovell throughout the Revolution as well as on the Penobscot Expedition.

In connection with the publication of the Journal it has been judged appropriate to incorporate with it a brief sketch of the author. The materials for this purpose have been gathered mainly from original sources, with much care, and, although not so full and abundant as could be desired, they are sufficient to afford the basis of a sketch of his life and public services that may be of permanent value.

Much of the material is wholly new to the public; and that portion of original matter found in the State Archives, which is somewhat familiar, has been carefully examined in search of any facts, relative to the Penobscot Expedition, that may have been heretofore overlooked.

Of the private history of General Lovell but little has been ascertained; and although, from the comparatively short time which has elapsed since he died, from the fact that people are now living who have personal recollections of him, and, also, from the number of his descendants now residing not far from his old home, it might be supposed that ample material for such a purpose would be found, yet the most careful inquiry thus far has failed to bring it forward.

The writer of the sketch is indebted to the following, among the many published works which he has consulted in its preparation: "Wheeler's History of Castine," "Williamson's History of Maine," "Williamson's History of Belfast," "Arnold's History of Rhode Island," "Bancroft," "Parkman," and other general histories; while the public records of the town and State have been freely used.

He is also greatly indebted to Mrs. Mary Lovell and her sister, Miss Selima Wildes, grand-daughters of General Lovell, for the use of the manuscript containing the Journal, and of the other private papers of the General now in their possession; and also for the cheer-

fulness with which they have contributed, in whatever way they could, by furnishing information and materials for the work.

He would also gratefully acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Strong and the officers at the State House, in his researches among the State papers.

GENERAL SOLOMON LOVELL.

CHAPTER I.

HIS ANCESTRY.

REV. JOSEPH HULL,¹ a native of Somersetshire, England, a graduate of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and a preacher of some celebrity in the south-west of England, having become dissatisfied with his position, or, inspired with a desire to see the new world just now dawning upon the eyes of Europe, and towards which so many of his friends and neighbors were flocking, resigned, in 1632, the rectorship of Northleigh, in Devon, which he had held for eleven years, and gathering a company of devoted followers who were willing to share with him the dangers, difficulties and pleasures of this new and unknown country, set sail on the 20th of March, 1635,² from Weymouth, in Old Dorset, for the lands of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The company consisted of twenty-one families,³—about one hundred and five individuals,—with probably no more definite destination than that so generally indi-

¹ Robert B. Hull, Esq. Manuscript in the Weymouth Historical Society's Library.

² Hotten. Early Emigrants, page 288.

³ Records of Massachusetts Bay Colony, vol. 1, page 149.

cated above, preferring to leave the precise spot of their location to the direction of Providence. After a passage of forty-six days, a fair one for that period, with such vessels as they could then command, and of which we have no further record, they passed in among the verdant islands of that beautiful bay, leaving on their left the bustling settlement of Hull, then a harbor for the inner plantations, and after a pleasant sail of about ten miles cast anchor before Governor Winthrop's infant village of Boston. This was on the 6th of May,¹ and it was not until July 2 that, with the permission of the General Court,² they at length settled upon Wessagus-cus as their future home, the name of which, in pleasant memory of the port in Dorset they had so recently left, was changed to Weymouth,—a name it has honorably borne to the present time, with its original territory unchanged by addition or diminution.

This selection of a location was a serious business for the new colonists, whose eyes were familiar only with the highly cultivated fields of old England, who knew little of the capacities of the soil upon which they now trod for the first time, of whose history they knew nothing, and whose outlines, even, they could hardly discern, so thickly were they wooded.

There was no lack in quantity of land, and but little dispute with respect to titles, owing to war and pestilence, which had nearly depopulated that section; but there was choice in quality and location, and even that must be left mainly, as they had from the first proposed, to the direction of Providence. So they sailed down the harbor, passing the many islands that dot so thickly its fair surface, and entering the estuary now called Fore River, came to anchor in a small cove about four

¹ R. B. Hull, Esq. Manuscript.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. 1, page 149.

miles from its mouth, afterwards known as Mill Creek, and not far from the spot where Weston's colony found a landing some thirteen years before.

Weymouth, even at so early a date, was not wholly a wilderness, for with the Weston settlement of 1622, that of Gorges in the following year,¹ scattered remnants of whose people yet remained upon the ground, and others who had since come in, quite a population had gathered within the limits of ancient Wessaguscus, while the land had been so generally taken up, and the plantations were so closely connected that the new comers were obliged to make their settlement upon territory further to the southward.

The tract selected was situated southerly from Burying Hill² (beyond which, to the north, were the larger portion of the older farms), with King Oak Hill for a central point, from whose summit, seaward and landward there extended a magnificent prospect of hill and stream, of forest and bay, not surpassed in natural beauty by the most favored landscapes of the old world. The temporary habitations of the Weymouth colonists of 1635 were located in the valley lying along its western base, reaching to Burying Hill. Upon the latter were the meeting-house and watch-house, as well as the burying-place, while the farms were scattered for a distance to the west, south and east. The rude shelters first erected were replaced from time to time by more substantial and commodious structures built upon the farms themselves, when the lands had become better improved, and the danger from Indians less imminent.

Among the company of emigrants now arrived were some of the most familiar names in Weymouth history;

¹ C. F. Adams, Jr., Esq. *Early Planters of Massachusetts Bay.* (Transactions of Mass. Hist. Society, 1878.)

² Christopher Webb, Esq. Oral tradition.

that of John Whitmarsh,¹ with his wife Alice, and their four children; William and Susan Read, with two children,—these latter soon removed to Boston,² where they have numerous descendants. There was also Zachary Bicknell and Agnes his wife, with their family; and Edward Poole, whose numerous posterity are found not only in Weymouth, but largely in Abington and the other towns to the southward. Henry Kingman, Thomas Holbrook, Richard Porter, were also of the number, and, not the least of them all, Robert Lovell, husbandman, with Elizabeth his wife, and children, Anne, Zacheus, and John, with Ellen and James, the year-old twins. He was accompanied by his servant, Joseph Chicken, a lad of sixteen years, and, perhaps, Alice Kinham, a maiden of twenty-two. Robert Lovell was at this time forty years old and Elizabeth, his wife, thirty-five.³ Evidently he was a farmer in comfortable circumstances.

The location of his earliest grants is not known with absolute certainty, the records of the town for that period being for the most part wanting; but very early documents in the Probate Office and Registry of Deeds, of Suffolk County, make mention of John Lovell's pasture on King Oak Hill, and the well established fact that the residence of Capt. Enoch Lovell, a grandson of Robert, lay upon the eastern slope of that hill, and was given by will to his son Joshua,⁴ under date of July 18, 1738, he being then sixty-eight years of age, indicates the spot very nearly. It is now owned by a daughter of the seventh generation of successive dwellers of that family upon the same spot.

James, one of the year-old twins named in the list

¹ Hotten. *Early Emigrants*, page 284.

² Boston Town Records.

³ Hotten. *Early Emigrants*, page 285.

⁴ Suffolk Probate, lib. 62, fol. 652.

of emigrants, and his wife Jane, were the parents of a large family, the best known of whom, Capt. Enoch, was born Dec. 29, 1670,¹ and the births of seven other children stand upon the record. Capt. Enoch, a man of note and influence in town, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Reed, and their fourth child, Dayid, the father of the subject of the present sketch, was born in Weymouth, March 6, 1704. He being of a studious turn and of an opulent family, was fitted for college, afterwards graduating at Harvard with the class of 1725. He married in 1730 (the publication dates January 11) Mary, daughter of John and Mary (Symes) Torrey, and after a few years spent in teaching and (tradition says) preaching, died Nov. 25, 1733,² leaving two children, born in Abington,—Eleanor, born Aug. 7, 1730, and Solomon, born June 1, 1732;³ the former of whom married Mr. Joseph Webb, and was the mother of several children.⁴ The latter is the subject of this sketch.

¹ Weymouth Town Records.

² Grave Stone. Here Lyes Buried | The Body of M^r | David Lovell MA | Dec⁴ November y^o 25 | 1733 In y^o 30th | Year of His Age |

³ Abington Town Records.

⁴ Weymouth Town Records.

CHAPTER II.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

Of the personal history of young Solomon, as boy and youth, but very little is known. The fact of his birth in a neighboring town, indicates the unsettled condition of his father's life, whose early death changed, probably very materially, the channel in which that young life was to run. We have seen the stock whence he sprung, on the paternal side; while from his mother he inherited some of the best blood of the ancient town. Lieut. John Torrey, her father, descended from Capt. William Torrey, the mother of his wife being the daughter of Capt. William Symmes, of Charlestown, son of Rev. Zachary Symmes, of honorable fame. The mother afterward married Rev. Samuel Torrey, pastor of the church of Weymouth, and, at her death, bequeathed all of her wearing apparel to her daughter Mary Torrey.¹

Although he was not, like his father, one of "Harvard's favored sons," yet his education was by no means neglected; for he was fully qualified, in that particular, to fill, with credit and dignity, the many important positions to which he was afterwards called. And it is more than probable that, besides the primitive schools of the period, he enjoyed the privilege of the best private instruction, and studied, as was the custom of the wealthy classes, with his pastor, Rev. William Smith, no mean scholar in the learning of the times,

¹Suffolk Probate, lib. 22, fol. 115.



Sir you are directed to call the Company
under your command together as early
in the morning as possible and give
them notice of this order and then
make ~~the~~ your draft of men and then
dismiss them to make their preparations
of war. Find an humble servant

S. Lovell
Weymouth June 12. 1776

To Capt. Saff.



Albertype —Forbes Co. Boston.

CAPT. ENOCH LOVELL'S HOUSE.

THE EARLY HOME OF SOLOMON LOVELL. NOW STANDING ON
COMMERCIAL STREET.

and widely known as the father of Mrs. Abigail Adams.

The death of his father, at the early age of thirty years, left young Solomon an orphan in his second year, under the care, probably, of his grandfather, Capt. Enoch Lovell, his mother having re-married when he was five years old. On the death of his grandfather, which took place when the lad had but just passed his fourteenth year, Solomon selected as his guardian¹ his step-father, Lieut. Samuel Kingman. This judicious selection had, doubtless, great influence in shaping his future life, and in forming that manful character that afterwards stood him in such good stead. By his guardian he was early initiated into all of the mysteries of the art of husbandry, as practised at that day; and from him, also, he probably imbibed that love for military science which influenced him through life.

Here, upon his grandfather's farm, a large portion of which he inherited on attaining his majority, it may be safely supposed, he passed the following decade in the peaceable occupation of a farmer, his sister having married in 1750. Even in this quiet life, he could hardly have been an indifferent spectator of the affairs of his own town, or the oftentimes stirring scenes going on among the near and remote colonies. We may imagine him a diligent student of events in the political world, watching, with careful eye the difficult problems that were fast hastening to a bloody solution, and fitting himself, by close application, for the prominent part he afterwards played in them. The narrow limits of his ancestral inheritance, and the staid life of a country farm, could never have been wholly congenial to the active temperament and military spirit of the young man; and the relations existing between the colonies

¹ Suffolk Probate, lib. 39, fol. 404.

and the home government were such as gave promise of a much larger exercise of those qualities that were awakening within him than had yet fallen to his lot. Agencies were already actively at work which would, not many years hence, rend asunder the most powerful empire of the world.

For a long time, although they were nominally at peace, an actual state of hostilities had existed all along the western frontier, between the two great powers, whose sway divided the continent, each determined on the supremacy. The jealousies of the French and English settlers, from Canada to the Cumberland, were so great, the grasping ambition of their respective governments so far-reaching, and the warlike savages such convenient and willing instruments, that acts of hostility were constantly occurring, and each act was remembered and laid up in store against a day of final reckoning, which was sure to come.

The French court, while publicly condemning these occurrences, and making the strongest protestations of peace, were, in numberless ways, urging matters to such a condition, that, when the crisis should come, they would be in the best possible position to take advantage of it. They were, in the meantime, strengthening their old posts, establishing new ones at the most advantageous points over the disputed territory, and cultivating and extending friendly relations with their savage allies, among most of whose tribes there had long existed the active missions of the Jesuit fathers; so that their far-sighted and sagacious policy, through the activity of their religious and military agents, extended over the whole of that vast territory lying to the westward of the Alleghanies, and to the northward, from Central New York beyond Lakes George and Champlain and the Mohawk. Thus was created a network of fortifications, and an enthusiastic combination of Indian tribes, which,

with their own forces, were amply sufficient, under ordinary conditions, to enable them to overcome any force that might be brought against them, and would have done so, but for a consideration unfortunately overlooked by them — the intense vitality and the unwavering obstinacy of the English character, which, in spite of its blunders, in the end wrested the victory from them.

Nor were the English managers at all behind in duplicity and diplomatic plottings; but, with less skill in their exercise, they fell far behind their more shrewd and subtle enemies in the contest.¹ The irritating processes continually going on were not without their result. In 1755, these incipient hostilities broke out into open war, and each party, according to its own ideas, began preparations for active operations. But the French, being in possession of the ground, and having nearly completed their arrangements, had altogether the advantage of their more obtuse and less alert opponents. They had simply to hold their positions, with such additional strengthening as circumstances should, from time to time, suggest; while the English, with their proverbial mismanagement, pursued their traditional policy, and the victory that finally resulted was only attained at the expense of many a severe disaster, and an immense expenditure of life and treasure, by the obstinate valor of their heroic troops, and the better councils that finally prevailed.

Nothing daunted, however, by the unpromising aspect of the situation, the home government, at the Court of St. James, set about their work with a comprehensiveness and vigor that promised grand results; though the very narrowness of their own local territory poorly qualified them to comprehend the nature and extent of

¹ See any of the general histories of that period; the differences consisting in the manner of statement, rather than in the facts. Bancroft, Parkman and others.

the work before them. Not that the general plan of the campaign was not extensive and complete enough; but, rather, that the means provided for its development were better adapted to the shorter distances and more open country of Western Europe, than to the almost boundless and unknown wastes of the new continent. Still, since the campaign was to be carried on in that new continent, and principally at its expense, in blood and pounds, while the success, should it finally come, could not fail to profit the mother country, perhaps it did not matter so much.

It has been observed that the plan was comprehensive enough; and, in fact, it embraced, virtually, nothing short of the subjection of the entire territory, and the total expulsion of the French possessors from its borders, although that was not the intent acknowledged. Four principal points were to be simultaneously attacked, and each by a force judged sufficient to ensure complete success. The northern division, intended for the expulsion of the French from the lands "wrongfully held by them," in Nova Scotia, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Monckton, with the troops of that province, assisted by men from Massachusetts and other New England colonies, effected its object; but, as that was mainly subsidiary to the work of the other divisions, the principal interest centered in them.

The most powerful and best-appointed of all, and that upon which the success or failure of the year's campaign, as a whole, depended, was the force destined to act against Fort Duquesne, a strong post at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers in western Pennsylvania (now Pittsburgh), and a very important one, since it was so situated that from it excursions could easily be made into the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. It was also a source of perpetual alarm to the exposed

colonists. It will be remembered, too, as the scene of one of Washington's early expeditions. It was naturally a strong position, and had been rendered much more so by regular fortifications and a permanent garrison of French troops, with a large allied force of Canadians and Indians, under the command of Captain de Contrecoeur, a prompt and resolute officer.

The fate of the fine army under General Braddock sent to reduce that fortress, and Washington's connection with it, are too well known to need more than simple mention. The splendid start, with its grand flourish of banner and trumpet; the long and toilsome march through the wilderness; the utter surprise of the vain and foolhardy commander; his total defeat and death, with the horrible massacre and annihilation of his troops that followed, form a story with which every school-boy is familiar.

The destruction of this army, and the consequent failure of the expedition, paralyzed that of Governor Shirley, operating against Niagara, which had been detained at Albany by red tape, incapacity, and their always accompanying misfortunes, until the season was far advanced. The news of Braddock's defeat was so disheartening that, before they had sufficiently recovered from it to make an advance, the time to attempt anything of consequence had gone by, and the further prosecution of the enterprise, other than the erection of a couple of weak forts at Oswego, was postponed until the following spring.

The redeeming feature of the campaign was the accidental victory of General, afterwards Sir William Johnson, over Baron de Dieskau on the shores of Lake George, in which the Weymouth volunteers participated. To that point the men from that town of the following year were sent. This fight opened with a defeat in consequence of the want of skill on the part

of the English commander, and was changed to a brilliant victory only through the desperate valor and stubborn resistance of the New England troops, after Johnson, slightly wounded, had retired from the field. His subsequent failure to follow up the success rendered the result fruitless, otherwise than as a stimulant to new efforts in carrying out, during the following season, the great idea of this campaign, the expulsion of the French from Canada. Johnson busied himself in building Fort William Henry, and other equally useless operations, until the season was over, when he dismissed the New England troops. The accidental lustre, however, of this affair, brought him a gratuity of five thousand pounds and a baronetcy, with the superintendency of Indian affairs.¹ Thus, with the failure of the two most important expeditions, the close of the season of 1755 found the rival nations in very nearly the same relative positions as at the beginning, the advantage being with the French.

¹ Irving's Washington, vol. 1, page 288.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH WAR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the discouragements of the previous season, instead of becoming disheartened, the spring of 1756 found a new life infused into the military operations; and all over New England, recruiting for the ensuing campaign was active and promising. Among the men taken from Colonel Lincoln's regiment for the Crown Point Expedition of 1755, were the names of nine Weymouth men.¹ Doubtless there were others in the different companies and regiments; but the rolls, in a large number of cases, do not name the residences of the men; therefore it is impossible to determine.

In the campaign of 1756, there were between thirty and forty Weymouth men, including the most of those who had served the previous year, mostly in the company of Maj. Samuel Thaxter of Hingham, Col. Richard Gridley's regiment, for service in the force under the command of Gen. John Winslow of Marshfield, who had taken his place at the head of the Crown Point

¹ See Colonel Lincoln's Return, Oct. 2, 1755. State Archives, vol. 93. Capt. Samuel Thaxter's (of Hingham) company.

The names of the men were: —

Lieut. Wm. Whitmarsh,
John Canterbury,
Hezekiah White,
Joseph Truefant.

Silas Lovell.

Ensign Nath'l Bayley.
Jonathan Darby,
Benjamin Tirrell,
Stephen Saulsbury,

Expedition, as successor to Governor Shirley.¹ Among the names of these volunteers is found that of First Lieut. Solomon Lovell, then a young man of twenty-four years. Doubtless he had some military reputation, since he appears upon the rolls as first lieutenant in the company of his neighbor, Maj. Samuel Thaxter of Hingham. The dangers of a frontier warfare were but an incentive to his resolute spirit, when that service was to eventuate in the protection of his own commonwealth, although so far removed from the scene of conflict.

At Lake George, he was to mingle with a multitude of kindred spirits, many of whom afterwards rose to eminence in the military annals of their country, and among them all, none more famous than Lieut. Israel

¹The following list, made up from the various muster rolls of the troops engaged in that campaign, and found in the State Archives, Boston, vols. 93, 94 and 95, is believed to be very nearly correct:—

First Lieut. Solomon Lovell.

Sergt. Caleb Eldridge,	Corp. John Canterbury, Jun.,
“ Jonathan Darby, Jun.,	“ Benjamin Nash,
“ Thomas Cushing,	“ James Hunt.
Silas Lovell,	Stephen Canterbury,
Benjamin Tirrell,	Joseph Trufant,
Joseph Pratt, 3d,	William Holbrook, Jun.,
Noah Bates,	Benjamin Richards,
William Richards,	Samuel Orcutt,
Joseph Ford,	David Orcutt,
Lemuel Barbar,	Stephen Saulsbury,
Joseph Blanchard,	William Salisbury,
Ebenezer Tirrell,	Thomas Colson, Jun.,
John Lincoln,	Nehemiah Joy,
James Nash,	John Randall Vining,
William Rice,	Isaac Joy,
Humphrey Burrell,	William Bates,
Isaac Pool,	Nathaniel Blanchard.

(The last-named, and Benjamin Nash, should perhaps be credited to Braintree.) Of these, six died during the campaign: Thomas Cushing, John Canterbury, James Hunt, William Holbrook, Benjamin Richards, John Randall Vining. The term of service was from February to November, about nine months.

Putnam, one of the heroes of the victory of the previous season, whose commission as second lieutenant, dated just six days before that engagement, did not reach him until after the battle was over.

The campaign of 1756 was inspired by the same general idea which governed that of the previous year, although differing somewhat in its details — the expulsion of the French from Canada, and thus ridding the continent of them. Now, the line of communication between Canada and the Ohio Valley was to be severed by the capture of Niagara ; Crown Point must be reduced, since it presented a standing menace to the Hudson River country, and afforded an easy gate of entrance into New York and New England, from the landward ; while, as less important positions, and for the purpose of drawing off the attention of the enemy from the real objective points, Fort Duquesne was to be invested and Quebec threatened. Conscious of the causes of previous failures, the ministry determined to overcome them ; though with an inveterate stupidity of which only an English ministry could be guilty, they actually undertook to do this, by repeating the same blunders, only on a more magnificent scale ; making a change of commanders, but not of policy or measures.

Braddock was succeeded by the Earl of Loudoun, a man possessed of all the perverse qualities of his predecessor, without even his few redeeming features. General Shirley retired to give place to General Abercrombie, merely the exchange of a military imbecile, for one possessed with a European reputation, but equally lacking in enterprise and judgment. The summer was frittered away in pompous pretensions and dilatory preparations ; the New England troops, in the meantime, fretting themselves in their inactivity, were, nevertheless, learning one of the necessary qualities of

good soldiers, patience, with something of discipline and experience, so indispensable to military success.

While this display of ignorance and imbecility was going on within the English lines, a far different state of affairs was transpiring in the counsels and in the actions of their enemies. The Marquis de Montcalm, the new French commander, a man of signal ability, full of intense activity and enterprise, was pressing his resources to the utmost. Taking in the whole field of operations to their fullest extent, he penetrated at a glance the designs of the English, and prepared, by the most vigorous measures, to counteract and overcome them. Paying but little attention to the northern and southern outposts, he visited and strengthened Ticonderoga and Crown Point, massed his forces and ascended the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Oswego, capturing, with hardly an effort, the two English forts built by Shirley in 1755 ; thus, at a single blow putting a check upon the beautiful paper campaign of his egotistical opponents. The activity and success of Montcalm completely paralyzed the little vitality that remained to the English commanders, and nothing was accomplished during the season. The Weymouth troops, after lingering around the romantic shores of Lake George till winter was about to set in, were discharged, and left for home, after having spent three-quarters of a year in endeavoring to effect the results of a campaign without brains to direct them ; no fault of theirs, however, as subsequent events proved.

The campaign of 1757, was almost a repetition of those of the two preceding years, substituting the massacre at Fort William Henry for the capture of Oswego ; and it was not until the spring of 1758, that the English affairs, under the able leadership of Pitt, began to assume a different aspect. The new ministry, equally jealous of the power of France and her hold

upon the American continent, and just as determined to dispossess her of that hold, proceeded to action instead of wasting the time in fruitless counsels. The powerful fortress of Louisburg, deemed by the French, and English, also, well-nigh impregnable, was taken after a memorable siege by General Amherst. In the northwest, General Bradstreet captured the strong position of Fort Frontenac, while Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of General Forbes ; but to offset in a measure these grand successes, Lord Abercrombie, with a force of sixteen thousand men, met with a terrible defeat before the walls of Ticonderoga ; the result of a remnant of disaster entailed from the previous ministry, all of whose blunders the new could not at once overcome.

The succeeding season, 1759, was memorable for its almost invariable English successes. The defeat of the French at Niagara by Sir William Johnson ; the capture of Ticonderoga by General Amherst, and the brilliant victory of Wolfe over Montcalm on the plains of Abraham, put an end to the power of the French in North America, and the colonies, with comparative peace for nearly a score of years, were permitted, under many irritating restrictions and grinding burdens of taxation, to grow up to so strong a manhood, that they were able to maintain their independence against one of the strongest nations of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

WHETHER or not an unwonted ripple in his domestic affairs was in any degree, instrumental in sending young Lovell into the Crown Point Expedition, and thus shaping to some extent his military future, history does not inform us ; but it is quite certain, that shortly after this a change came over his social condition, and he was married, Jan. 19, 1758, to Lydia, the daughter of his neighbor, Deacon John Holbrook, who was also of the old emigrant stock, the deacon being great-grandson to Thomas Holbrook, one of the Hull company in 1635, a companion of Robert, the ancestor of the Lovells. Tradition says that this marriage was the result of a reaction in the affections of young Solomon, he having first set his longing eyes upon the comely person of Miss Hannah Pittey, who looked, or pretended to look, with small favor upon his suit, and rejected his proposals. Subsequent events seem to sustain this tradition. He was not long, however, permitted to enjoy this marriage relation, for his wife died May 21, 1761, at the birth of her second child, the first having died in infancy in 1759.¹

After the death of his wife Lydia, his first love came back to him, the object of that earlier choice being yet single, and a second proposal from the young farmer, more successful than the first, was accepted, the marriage taking place in May, 1762. Mrs. Hannah, was

¹ Weymouth Town Records.



GEN. SOLOMON LOVELL'S HOMESTEAD,

AS IT APPEARS IN 1881.

Albotype—Forbes Co., Boston.

the daughter of James and Hannah (Reed) Pittey, born Dec. 8, 1730, and consequently about a year and a half the senior of her husband. The marriage was a happy one as far as can be learned ; and from it there sprung seven children, four of whom died in childhood. From the top of King Oak Hill, no doubt he had often looked down over the broad acres that formed the fertile farm of his future father-in-law, with a strong desire to unite it with his already ample estate, and the time had now come when the fact was accomplished.

He soon left his old homestead to the use of his sister Eleanor, Mrs. Webb,¹ and removed with his family to "Old Spain," the local name of that part of North Weymouth beyond the old burying-ground and bordering upon the bay, taking the old home of his wife, making it with some additions, his residence during the remainder of his life, and leaving it by will, at his death, to his son, Dr. James Lovell,² at whose death, in 1820, without issue, it was sold, passing out of the family. This mansion, occupied as a tenement-house and retaining somewhat its general appearance in the palmy days of its old proprietor, General Lovell, still stands upon Neck Street, not far from Bridge Street, and is about half a mile to the eastward of the village of "Old Spain."

¹ Family tradition.

² Norfolk Probate, lib. 7, fol. 571.

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

SOON after his first marriage, his real settlement in life, he began, as a good citizen, to turn his attention to the affairs of his native town, and to interest himself in its welfare. From this time forward until near the day of his death, except when called away upon military business, he was almost constantly employed in important town affairs, holding responsible offices, and was evidently looked up to as a man of prudence and sagacity, in whose hands the interests of the town would not suffer.

His earliest employment in this direction was on May 19, 1760, when he was chosen one of a committee to ascertain the boundaries of the town property at the various landings. These had long been in dispute, and were the objects of frequent trespass. It was a matter requiring much tact and discretion, as well as personal acquaintance with the subject, and the selection of a young man to this important position, as his first public business, is sufficient evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his townsmen.¹

In 1770 he was chosen upon a committee to examine the town treasurer's accounts, a position in those days much more responsible in the opinion of the town than at present. Here he appears for the first time upon record under the designation of "Captain."² Evidently

¹ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 1, page 398.

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 1, page 435.

he had not lost his interest in military affairs, but retaining his connection with them, still occupied a prominent position.

The succeeding year, 1771, he was chosen representative to the General Court. At this time the difficulties between the colonies and the home government were assuming a serious aspect, and fast approaching a crisis, when men of the soundest discretion, the wisest and best, were demanded for the highest positions and elected to fill them. This was but the beginning of many years of service in that capacity, a service always resulting, as far as record and tradition show, in profit to the town and credit to himself. This year, in July, he was advanced one grade in military rank, being chosen second major of the Second Regiment of Suffolk Militia.¹

In the earlier years of the colony the iron-ore used in manufactures was found mostly near the surface, and in neighborhoods where it was needed for use; and among the most abundant and available sources of supply were the bottoms of the larger ponds,² which were dredged for the purpose, several of those in Weymouth being quite valuable, those of Great, Whitman's, and Whortleberry Ponds affording the town a considerable revenue. So rich were they considered that they were sought after by manufacturers from other towns. The negotiation and disposition of these privileges was a subject of nice discrimination and good judgment, and the town was in the habit of putting its best men upon that duty. In 1773, the old contract having expired, the town appointed Capt. Asa White, Major Solomon Lovell, and Cotton Tufts, Esq., as a committee to negotiate a new sale of this important privilege,

¹ State Archives, vol. 99, page 387. His royal commission dates March 4, 1773.

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, pages 2 and 3.

which was concluded, much to the satisfaction of the citizens, with Mr. Thomas Holbrook of Pembroke, for a term of thirty years.

Up to this time the records indicate that the town, by official action, had paid but little attention to colonial or provincial affairs. These matters were the subject of much discussion and frequent action in the General Court, and in the Provincial Congress, causing intense excitement; and since individual as well as public interests were at stake, and these could be protected in no way so well as by combinations of individuals acting for the common good, this began to be done, and committees of correspondence were formed in the several towns, unions of various kinds contemplated or completed, and these in turn combined into larger organizations of the same nature, so that the whole of the English colonies scattered from the Canadian frontier to the Spanish possessions upon the Gulf of Mexico were rapidly acquiring the means by which a common agreement could be entered into, and by which they could act together for the good of the whole. The town meeting was the place where the general feeling of the people first took tangible form. From these gatherings it was that the General Court and the Provincial Congress learned what was expected of them, and where they were to look for support in the critical times that were upon them. Here the leaders in all popular movements could and did freely express their opinions upon all matters of governmental concern, some of the noblest utterances that have been handed down to us from that exciting period coming from these primary assemblages.

Ever active in carrying forward the general interests, and pronounced in all his views, Major Lovell was one of the foremost in opposing the encroachments of the crown, and these efforts found their public utterance

first in the town meeting. He was always found upon committee when matters of political importance were to be considered, and was one of the foremost to carry out the measures there decided on. At a special meeting of the town, held Jan. 3, 1774, of which Major James Humphrey was moderator, a letter was read from the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, with copies of the votes and proceedings of that town at meetings held November the 5th and 18th with regard to the cargoes of teas daily expected from the East India Company's warehouses in London, suggesting the co-operation of the several towns in resisting the introduction of this obnoxious article,—obnoxious, because it was subjected to a duty imposed by act of Parliament. The matter was discussed and the question presented for action in the form of a resolve, "not to purchase nor use any of the East India Company's teas of any kind (excepting such as they might now have on hand) until the act of Parliament, laying a duty thereon, be repealed;" and the resolution passed "by a Great Majority."¹

Cotton Tufts, Esq., Major Lovell, Deacon Nathaniel Bayley, Mr. Jacob Goold and Mr. Ebenezer Colson were appointed a committee to prepare further resolves, and report at a future meeting. They were also "to prepare a suitable instrument for the people, not now present, to sign if they see cause, that the minds of the people may be known." Accordingly such a document was prepared, and at a meeting held December 10 it was presented and signed, through a singular coincidence, by just one hundred and twenty-three men from each Precinct, showing an almost unanimous feeling, in which they agreed to abide by the recommendation of the Continental Congress in respect to the matter in hand. In January following a committee was chosen,

¹ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 6.

one of whose members was Major Solomon Lovell, to see that the Continental resolve was strictly adhered to. Truly the fathers were as zealous in doing as prompt in pledging.

The situation of affairs had now become so serious that the town, at a meeting held May 2 of this year, 1775, deemed it necessary to order a military guard, consisting of fifteen persons, to serve for one week, at two pistareens per day; and on the 9th of the same month, a Committee of Correspondence, to act with those of the neighboring towns, was chosen, consisting of Doctor Tufts, Col. Lovell, now colonel for the first time upon record (although it does not appear that his commission from the Colonial authorities was issued until the following February¹), Maj. Vining, Capt. Asa White and Mr. Josiah Colson.²

In January, 1775, the Council passed an order directing Col. Lovell to take charge of the boats belonging to the Colony, taken from Hospital Island and then stationed at Weymouth, for the protection of the coast.³

The enthusiasm, as well as the patriotism, of the people ran high at this time. The town adopted the most energetic measures to put itself in the best posture for defence; and, under the direction of wise counsels, those measures were as prudent and judicious as they were prompt and vigorous. Private individuals also came forward with their means, and gifts of arms and ammunition were frequent. At a meeting held May 24, the town voted to accept the offer of two guns

¹ State Archives, vol. 28, page 89

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 17.

An account of the organization of these Committees, at Arnold's Tavern with Cotton Tufts, Esq., Chairman, and Capt. Asa White, Clerk, with a part of the subsequent proceedings, were published, from the original record, by the Weymouth Historical Society, in the "Weymouth Gazette," March 14, 1879

³ General Court Records, vol. 31, page 150.

(cannons), and Cotton Tufts, Esq., received a vote of thanks, for his offer to pay for their transportation from Salem.

At the same meeting, the enrolled soldiers, — all able-bodied males between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, — were ordered to meet on the following day, for the choice of officers, one company for each Parish, the town to pay for the arms of those who were not able to buy for themselves; also, to pay for ammunition for the "swivils," "provided the Province does not"; and that the bells should be rung in case of an alarm. Also, voted to accept the use of two small carriage guns, of three hundred pounds each, from Mr. Richard Derby.¹

On the first of June, the town voted to hire guns at one dollar each for six months for those not able to purchase. Also, ordered the soldiers from sixteen to sixty to appear under arms, "on each Lord's day," under a penalty of one dollar for failure to appear without arms, and two dollars for staying away altogether.²

¹ Weymouth Town Records, vol 2, page 18.

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 19.

CHAPTER VI.

MILITARY SERVICE.

THE time when Col. Lovell entered actively into the military service of the State during the Revolution is not definitely known, but it must have been quite early, since his commission as colonel of the Second Regiment is dated Feb. 7, 1776,¹ and his regiment is mentioned as one of those that marched to Dorchester Heights, March 4, following.²

During the campaign of 1776, we find but little special mention of the services of Col. Lovell; but from the fact that his command was in an exposed position and known to have been upon active duty in some of the important movements connected with the siege of Boston, it is fair to presume that he had his full share of local duty.

As before mentioned, his regiment was called into active service March 4, 1776, and December 8, of the same year, he was ordered to detach two hundred men for the defence of the fort at Hull, which, from its ex-

¹ State Archives, vol. 28, page 89, Muster Rolls of officers in Mass. Regts. Suffolk County had been organized into six military districts, of one regiment each; Boston, being one, and its regiment known as the Boston regiment; Roxbury, Dedham and Needham the first; Weymouth, Hingham, Cohasset and Hull, the second; Dorchester, Milton, Stoughton and Stoughtonham, the third; Medfield, Wrentham, Medway, Walpole and Bellingham, the fourth; and Braintree the fifth. Records of the Council, vol. 6, page 243.

² Col. Lovell's Regiment was on duty at the time the Heights were taken possession of, and Capt. Thomas Nash, of the South Weymouth company, was officer of the day. (Private tradition; State Archives, vol. 21, page 131.)

posed position, was in special danger from the attacks of the British ships of war.¹

The town, in the meantime, continued its exertions to keep up its quota of men, increasing the provincial bounty from thirteen to twenty pounds, and afterwards adding to this three pounds per month for three months. On the 17th of July, the Declaration of Independence was read from the two pulpits of the town and entered in full upon its records,² in accordance with the order of Congress requiring it.

At a meeting held Feb. 17, 1777, the passage of a vote regulating the prices of all kinds of marketable articles, with a document bearing the signature of nearly every citizen, evinced the cheerfulness and alacrity with which the people went into the work of establishing their independence.³ On the 21st of the same month, the town bounty was advanced to eight pounds per month, for three years. This year, Col. Lovell was again chosen Representative to the General Court, and was also placed upon the committee for the encouragement of recruiting. His instructions as Representative, dated May 15, prepared by a committee of which Hon. Cotton Tufts was chairman and who was probably the author, is a remarkably able and well written document, and will compare favorably with the best public papers of that day.⁴

¹ Records of the Council, vol. 9, page 91.

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, pages 29 and 30.

³ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 31.

⁴ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, pages 39 and 40. This document is inserted in full, as one worthy of preservation, and as a specimen of the ability of the town in its official capacity.

**"INSTRUCTIONS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TOWN OF WEYMOUTH.
TO COL^O. SOLOMON LOVELL.**

SIR. The struggle in which we are engaged is great and important, it calls for the Exertion of all the Powers and Faculties of every Individual in order to secure the invaluable Blessing of Liberty in its full Extent, which we profess to be the grand object of our pursuit. Could these be

On the 24th of June, 1777, Col. Lovell was elected by the Council Brigadier-General of the militia of

united and center in the main Point, we might, under Providence, be assured of Success; to effect this, as Men have different Powers and Capacities adapted to different purposes, it is necessary that Men be employed in those different Matters, for wch they are best calculated, and without attending to this, the Publick cannot be well served nor its good Advanced. You are therefore Instructed to use your Influence, that the various offices of Government be filled up by Persons of Integrity and known qualifications for their Particular offices, and that a Multiplicity of offices be devolved upon no one, Especially where they cannot be discharged with Fidelity, and the good of the People, however otherwise qualified or distinguished the Person may be. Agreeable hereunto you are Instructed not to give your Vote for any Person to sit in Council, who holds any office or offices incompatable with the faithful Discharge of the Duties of a Councillor, nor for any Member of the Continental Congress, nor for any holding Commissions under it, and that the Affairs of Government may be conducted, as much as may be, with Dispatch and without interruption. You are instructed to use your Endeavors that Members of the Gen^l Court be not unnecessarily charged with the Transaction of Business that can be as well or better done by suitable persons not belonging to the same, and who may be appointed for such purpose, and that all persons entrusted by the General Court, with Business of any kind, do from Time to Time render an Account of their conduct, where any are unfaithful that they be displaced without favor or affection, see that the unfaithful be punished, and the upright servants of Government be rewarded, for where faithful servants of Government are not rewarded, no man of Integrity will ever chuse to accept a Trust, and the State must be governed by weak and wicked Men. You are on the one Hand to avoid such parsimony as to discourage worthy men from engaging in the Publick Service, and on the other Hand such a profusion as to encourage Men to fleece the Public, and to wriggle themselves into places of Profit and Honor. You are particularly instructed to use your utmost endeavors that every measure be pursued for the suppression of vice and immorality, and as no People can long enjoy Liberty or Civil Happiness, without a fixed Government, whose Laws are founded in Justice and administered with impartiality, we do agreeably to a recommendation of the late General Assembly instruct you to join with the House of Representatives in one Body with the Council to form a Constitution of government, and when compleated to lay the same before us for our approbation or disapprobation.

That you Sir, with the Members of the general Assembly, may be directed by the Supreme Governor of the world in the formation of a Constitution satisfactory to the inhabitants of this State and productive of the greatest Virtue and happiness not only to the present, but to succeeding Generations, that the Children yet unborn may rise up and call you blessed, is the ardent wish of your constituents

COTTON TUFTS JAMES HUMPHREY ASA WHITE ELIPHAZ WESTON
NATHANIEL BAILEY.

Suffolk County, and, receiving his commission,¹ entered at once upon the duties of his command — a position of the highest importance, since it made him, subordinate only to the department officer appointed by the Continental Congress, the military commander of Boston, and, virtually, the central military authority of the Eastern District, — which covered nearly the whole of New England, and requiring military ability of a high order, together with rare judgment, prudence and discretion; a position that he retained to the close of the war, — a period of six years of constant watchfulness and preparation; sufficient proof that his services were eminently satisfactory to the people over whom he was placed, and in whom was vested the power of removal at any time.

July 21, 1777, Gen. Lovell was ordered by the Council to hold his brigade in readiness to march to his alarm post at a moment's notice;² and, August 1, on the occasion of a new alarm, he was directed to detach one hundred and fifty men from Col. Cushing's regiment, and "proceed with them, personally, to Hull, there to take the command, to defend the fort and annoy the enemy."³ In September, a secret expedition to Rhode Island was undertaken by the General Court, and Brig.-Gens. Palmer and Lovell placed in command;⁴ but the expedition failed, on account (as alleged) of the disobedience of orders by Gen. Palmer, who was court-martialled therefor.

In 1778, Gen. Lovell was again chosen Representative to the General Court.⁵ During this year, Rhode Island

¹ State Archives, vol. 27, page 217. General Assembly Record, vol. 37 page 97.

² Council Record, vol. 10, page 624.

³ Council Record, vol. 10, page 655.

⁴ Council Record, vol. 10, page 865. General Assembly Record, vol. 38, page 39.

⁵ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 49.

was the point around which the operations of the northern army centered.¹ So great was the solicitude, that Gen. Sullivan, one of Washington's most trusted officers, was appointed to succeed Spencer in that department, and despatched at once to Providence, to take command of the forces there, and the most energetic measures were forthwith entered upon to place that State in the best posture of defence. The English, under Gen. Pigot, had made a descent upon the coast, plundered and partially burnt the flourishing towns of Warren and Bristol, taking some prisoners, but were finally driven off by a few troops, who had gathered during the alarm, before the places were wholly destroyed. About the same time, another party of the enemy made an attempt upon Fall River, but were repulsed before accomplishing much damage, by the resolute conduct of Col. Joseph Durfee, and a few men under his command.

While the coast was thus threatened at various points, Gen. Sullivan found not more than five hundred men at his command, about three hundred of whom were Rhode Island troops, the remainder belonging to the other New England States. A special session of the Assembly was called, and an order passed to fill up the ranks of the State Brigade, and call out, for fifteen days, one-sixth of the military and chartered force of the State. At the same time, urgent calls for immediate assistance were made upon the neighboring States; yet, up to the middle of July, but about sixteen hundred men had been raised, while the enemy had, in and about Newport, a force of seven thousand men, including a reinforcement of three thousand just received from New York.

¹ For the main facts relative to the Rhode Island campaign, the excellent history of that State by Samuel Greene Arnold has been followed. Vol. 2, pages 415 to 428.

A council of war called out at once half the effective force of the State, to serve for twenty days from August 1st; and the remainder were ordered to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's notice. The same day, Count D'Estaing, with a powerful fleet and a reinforcement of four thousand French troops, appeared off Newport harbor, in aid of the Americans. Maj.-Gen. Greene, Brig.-Gen. Glover and Marquis de Lafayette, who had just arrived from Washington's army, volunteered for the service.

With the reinforcements which had been slowly reaching headquarters, Gen. Sullivan had succeeded in massing about ten thousand men, largely new recruits (many of whom, however, had seen some service), and proceeded to make immediate preparations for active work, crossing to the upper part of Rhode Island, while the French troops, destined for his support, were landed in Conanicut, the fleet, in the meantime, undertaking to force Newport harbor.

Just at this time, Lord Howe, with an English fleet of twenty sail, appearing off Point Judith, the French troops were hastily re-embarked, and Count D'Estaing, eager for the battle, put to sea at once. But, before the action commenced, a terrible tempest—one of the most severe on record, lasting for two days,—scattered the hostile squadrons, and put an end, for the present, to the expected aid from that quarter; and Gen. Sullivan was left to make the best fight possible with the means at his command. A letter from him at this time states that he had but fifteen hundred men from that State and fourteen hundred from Massachusetts, whereas three thousand had been expected from each; while Connecticut had sent but four hundred of the fifteen hundred called for from her. But the spirited conduct of the council of war, in calling out the remaining half

of the effective force of the State, had the effect of restoring the General's confidence.

The return of the French raised again the anticipations of the Americans, and strong hopes were entertained of the capture of the entire British army, while Greene and Lafayette were sent to insure the co-operation of the Count; but he, to their great disappointment, determined to proceed at once to Boston, to refit, against which decision the American officers entered an ineffectual protest.

Meanwhile, matters in Providence were anything but pleasant; great scarcity of necessaries, with no means of obtaining them; much uneasiness among the troops, with frequent desertions, half the New Hampshire contingent having gone, and the remainder with difficulty being retained. The siege, notwithstanding, had been closely pressed, and the enemy shut up in their fortified works, while only the aid of the French fleet was wanting to make the final assault. The determination, however, of D'Estaing, and the lack of the support that his force alone could give, compelled Sullivan to fall back upon his defences on the hills of the north. This encouraged the enemy, and, on the following morning, they sallied out of their intrenchments, threatening a general attack. The challenge was promptly accepted by Sullivan, and, on that day was fought the Battle of Rhode Island, a stubborn field-fight between the two armies, numbering some seven or eight thousand each, continuing all day, and resulting at last in the retreat of the British to their fortified camp, with a loss of over a thousand men, while that on the American side was but two hundred and eleven.

In this fight the American force, only one-quarter of whom had ever been under fire before, was pitted against a force of British veterans, superior in numbers and discipline, aided by several ships of war,

and with such skill, courage and obstinacy as to win a decided victory. Of this engagement, Lafayette is said to have remarked that "it was the best-fought action in the war." In this battle were the Massachusetts troops, under the command of Brigadiers Lovell and Titcomb, whose conduct was such as to win high praise. "While the heavy fighting was going on upon the British left, the Brigade of Gen. Lovell was ordered to engage their right and rear, which was done with complete success." A private account states that "many officers distinguished themselves by their coolness and courage," naming Gen. Lovell particularly.¹ By the pay-roll, it appears that this campaign lasted forty-seven days.²

In October, 1778, one thousand men were ordered, for the special defence of Boston, of whom "Brigadier" Lovell was assigned the command; and November 30, following, this vote appears upon the records of the Council, an action of very rare occurrence in that august body: "Ordered, That the thanks of the Board be, and hereby is, given to Brigadier Lovell, for his readiness and alertness in turning out to take command of the militia lately ordered in for the defence of this State, and he is hereby excused from further attendance on that service till further order."³

May 17, 1779, Gen. Lovell is once more chosen to represent the town in the General Court.⁴

¹ "Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island," by Benjamin Cowell, in Harvard College library; also, "Heath's Memoirs," pages 191-193: Lovell's brigade, 1158 men; Titcomb's brigade, 957.

² State Archives, vol. 26, page 211.

³ Records of the Council, vol. 12, page 5.

⁴ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 57.

CHAPTER VII.

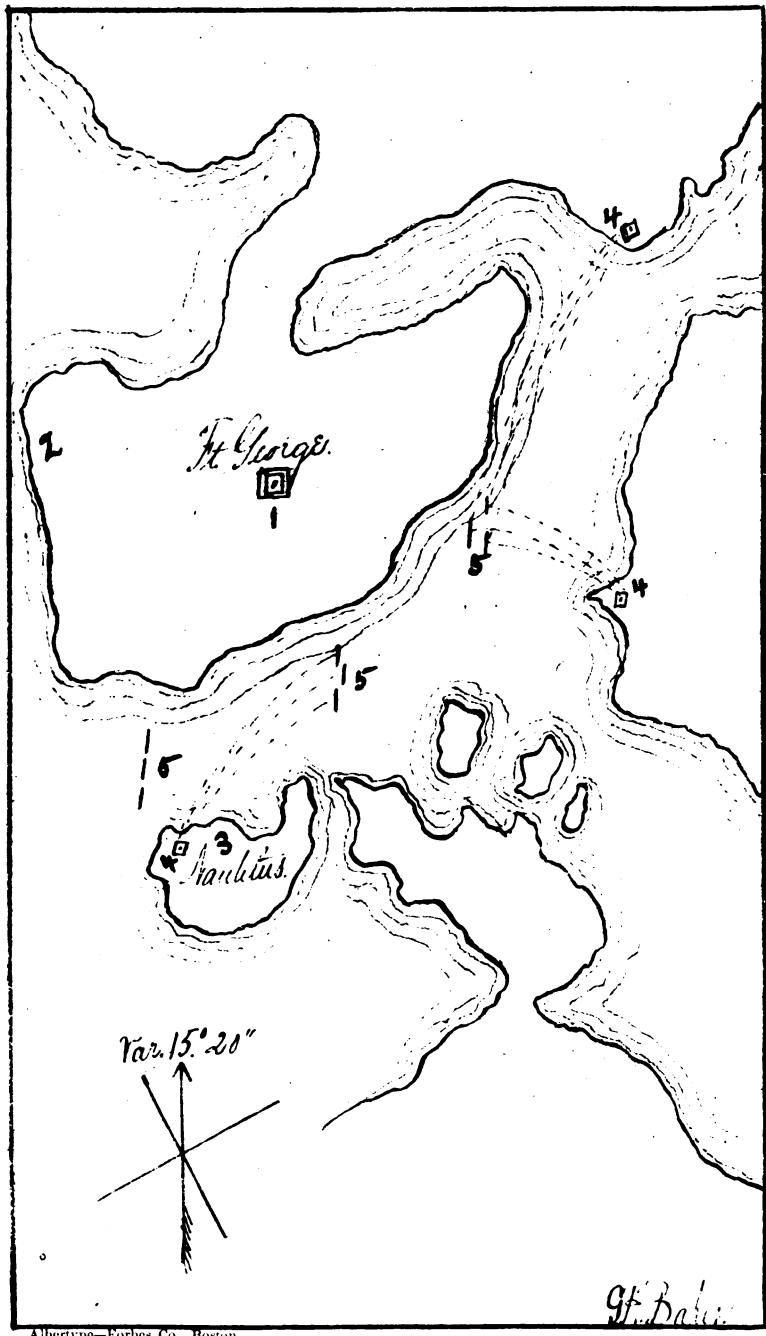
THE PENOBCOT EXPEDITION — PREPARATIONS.

WITH their extended commerce, the English had suffered greatly from the depredations of American privateers. The Continental navy at this time was quite insignificant,—hardly worthy of the name,—consisting of a few small frigates and sloops-of-war, its main dependence being upon private armed vessels,—letters of marque and privateers. These were neither designed for, nor expected to act upon naval expeditions strictly such, but to prey upon the rich merchantmen that were covering the ocean with their valuable freights. Foremost in this work were the ships of Massachusetts,—Newburyport, Salem and Marblehead being particularly conspicuous,—whose cruisers found a secure asylum among the numerous bays and harbors of the rock-bound coast of the Province of Maine.

It was easy to slip into almost any of these with a prize, by men familiar with every inlet; and it was equally easy, also, from thence to spring out upon their unsuspecting prey. These harbors also afforded great facilities for fitting out these destructive craft, and, also, for refitting and supplying, as well as securing crews for them from among the hardy seamen with which that coast abounded.

The English authorities did not fail to discover this, and to take prompt and vigorous action to prevent the mischief that would otherwise result. Gen. Francis McLean, with four hundred and fifty rank and file of the 74th Regiment, and two hundred of the 82d, June





Albertype—Forbes Co., Boston.

MAP OF CASTINE HARBOR, From a U. S. SURVEY.

I. FORT GEORGE. 2. THE BLUFF. 3. BANK'S ISLAND. 4. BATTERIES.
5. POSITIONS OF BRITISH SHIPS.

16, 1779,¹ took possession of the peninsula of Bagaduce, now Castine, on the east side of Penobscot Bay, about twenty miles from its mouth, and some half a dozen miles below the entrance to the river of that name. For the purpose designed, no better location could have been selected, commanding, as it did, the most important bay and river upon the coast. It was also easy of access from their eastern possessions, affording a convenient and central rendezvous from which to carry on military operations against the rebel ports, serving, also, an excellent purpose of keeping the neighboring population in awe, the most of whom were from the older colonies, to whose cause² they were favorable, and had rendered themselves obnoxious to the British authorities by the capture of vessels laden with supplies, and the surrender of their crews, as prisoners, to the American army.

The peninsula of Maja-Bagaduce — or Bagaduce, as more commonly called, — is a high bluff of land, extending into the open waters of the bay, and is visible to a great distance. Along its south-east shore lies the river, or inlet, of the same name; on the south-west, it is washed by the waters of the bay, while on the north-west it connects with the main land by a marsh about a quarter of a mile across, overflowed at high tide. About a mile in width upon the bay, — its broadest part, — and a little less than two miles in extreme length, it rises from the shore to a height of about two hundred feet above the water. Upon the bay, it is an almost perpendicular precipice, while the inclination is more gradual toward the river and harbor.

Gen. McLean approached cautiously, and with hesitation, but landed without opposition,³ taking possession

¹ Letter from McLean in "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 49, page 513.

² Williamson's History of Belfast, page 169.

³ Williamson's History of Belfast, page 170.

of the high ground upon the central ridge, where he selected a site for a fort, which was at once laid out, and the work commenced, with the intention of making it one of the strongest upon the coast. It was square, two hundred and fifty feet upon a side, with bastions at the angles. A bomb-proof was to be built, with ample accommodations for officers and men, with secure storage for the supplies, the whole to be defended by earth walls twenty feet in height, and these surrounded by a deep ditch.¹ It was to be named Fort George, in honor of the king.

The ground was covered with a heavy growth of wood, which the inhabitants of the neighborhood were persuaded to remove by the promise of protection and indemnity, many of whom came in and took the oath of allegiance in response to Gen. McLean's proclamation. But it was not until after the middle of July that the ground was prepared and the first rude works erected,² with a small battery near the shore and the needed store-houses for provisions. So slow had been the progress that, at the news of the approach of the American fleet, no cannon had been placed in position at the main fort, although they had mounted a six-gun battery at Dice's Point, and begun a small work at Cape Rozier.³ The fleet had been sent back to Halifax, excepting the sloops-of-war "Albany" and "Nautilus," of 16 guns each; the "North," an old ship of 18 guns, and the "Santilena" (St. Helena), a prize vessel of a few guns.

One account states that "the walls of the fort at that time were not more than five feet high, with two guns mounted, one towards the water and the other towards the woods, with only men enough to man three sides of the fort, placing the men a yard apart." They were

¹ Williamson's History of Maine, vol 2, page 469.

² Calef's Journal, in Wheeler's Castine.

³ David Perham in Bangor "Whig and Courier," Aug. 13, 1846.

fully informed of all the movements of the Americans, and were prepared to make but the pretence of resistance, expecting to be captured at once.

The news of this occupation spread quickly through the eastern colonies, producing the utmost astonishment and consternation; and the most active measures were at once taken to dispossess the English of their newly-acquired position. Orders were issued by the General Court to fit out an expedition of sufficient force to accomplish the purpose. Letters were addressed to the New Hampshire authorities, soliciting their co-operation, which were promptly and favorably responded to.¹ Brig.-Gen. Lovell was ordered, June 26, 1779,² to hold himself in readiness to take the command of twelve hundred militia, with one hundred of the artillery, to march, at the shortest notice, to Penobscot. Orders were issued to the Board of War to fit out a fleet immediately, by obtaining the loan of the frigate "Warren" and sloop "Providence," Continental vessels, the former a fine new ship of 32 guns, and the latter a sloop of 12; to buy, hire, or impress private armed ships — as many as might be necessary; also, to provide transports. Extraordinary inducements were also offered for seamen.³

Orders were also issued to the ordnance, commissary and quartermaster's departments, to furnish what supplies might be needed from their stores. Ammunition, provisions, and supplies of all kinds in abundance, were *ordered*, that the expedition might not be lacking in these particulars. Yet, notwithstanding the utmost endeavors of the authorities, difficulties were encountered from the outset. The supplies so liberally ordered were not forthcoming; and Gen. Lovell writes to the

¹ State Archives, vol. 57, pages 298, 300.

² Council Record, vol. 12, page 444.

³ State Archives, vol. 145; page 891.

Council, under date of July 2, stating that, so great is the difficulty in obtaining the necessaries under the ordinary method, that the operations of the expedition must be retarded thereby, and requests additional powers, which are granted.¹

July 7, Peleg Wadsworth, Adjutant-General of the State, an officer of high repute, who had seen much service, was chosen unanimously by the Council to the second position under Gen. Lovell, to serve as engineer, with rank of Brigadier². On the 8th, Lieut.-Col. Paul Revere was appointed to command the train of artillery, and, on the 9th, Dr. Eliphalet Downer, Surgeon-General of the expedition; and, so great was the despatch, that the General received his orders to embark his artillery on the 12th, and on the 15th the expedition was in Nantasket Roads, ready to sail; but, from various causes, it did not put to sea until the 19th. The letter of instructions to the commanders was very full and explicit.³

The fleet had been placed under the command of Dudley Saltonstall, Esq., of New London, an officer of some repute, and then in command of the Continental frigate "Warren," which position was thought, perhaps, to entitle him to the command of the squadron.⁴ This consisted of the ships "Warren," 32 guns; the "Hampden" (the New Hampshire contingent, which joined them at Townsend), and "Hector," of 22 guns each; the "Gen. Putnam," "Vengeance," "Monmouth," "Black Prince" (of Salem, which joined the fleet off Portsmouth), "Hunter" and "Charming Sally," each 20 guns; "Sky Rocket," brigs "Hazard," "Pallas" and "Defence," of 16 guns each; "Active" and "Tyranni-

¹ State Archives, Vol. 37, page 258.

² Records of the Council, Vol. 13, page 22+.

³ State Archives, Vol. 145, pages 9, 10, and 39.

⁴ State Archives, Vol. 145, page 217, page 199.

cide," of 14 each; the "Diligence" and sloop "Providence," of 12 each; sloop "Charming Polly" and schooner "Hannah," of 6 each; mounting in all 324 guns, and manned by more than of two thousand men, with upwards of twenty transports — probably the strongest and finest naval force furnished by New England during the Revolution; and the total cost of the expedition, as seen in the general account, was £1,739,174 11s. 4d.¹

The following is the list of field and staff officers connected with the land forces:²

Brig.-Gen. Solomon Lovell, Commander-in-Chief.
 Brig.-Gen. Peleg Wadsworth, second in authority.
 Eliphalet Downer, Surgeon-General.
 Capt. Gawan Brown, Brigade Major.
 Capt. William Todd, Brigade Major.
 Capt. Jeremiah Hill, Adjutant-General.
 John Marston, Jun., Secretary.
 Col. John Tyler, Quartermaster-General.
 G. W. Speakman, Commissary of Ordnance.
 Benjamin Furnass, Deputy Quartermaster.
 J. Robbins, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance.

With Lt. Col. Paul Revere in command of the train of artillery.

The expedition was the work of Massachusetts, notice only being given to the Continental authorities,³ who consented thereto, furnishing aid and counsel, and, too late to be of any avail, a strong reinforcement. The burden imposed upon the colony was a heavy one, and its disastrous result aggravated the burden. The fleet was ordered to rendezvous at Townsend, where the land forces of York and Cumberland, six hundred men each, were to meet them, and where everything

¹ State Archives, vol. 145, page 201.

² State Archives, vol. 37, page 131.

³ State Archives, vol. 37, page 268.

was supposed to be in readiness for an immediate departure.

The fleet reached Townsend on the 21st, where the General and his "family" were hospitably entertained by Rev. Mr. Murray, whose place "was a much Genteler seat than was by most persons expected to be found in this part of the country. Very agreeably & sociably treated by the worthy clergyman." Mr. Murray was afterwards persuaded by the General to accompany the expedition, and was sent as bearer of despatches to Boston. The General speaks of him in very high terms.¹

Upon examining the returns of the troops, they were found to be deficient over one-third, or five hundred of the fifteen hundred ordered, which included three hundred from Lincoln. They were, notwithstanding, ordered up for review, and to embark immediately; of the men sent forward, a large part were wholly unfit for service. General Wadsworth says,² "at least one-fourth part appeared to me to be small boys and old men, unfit for service."

Adjutant-General Hill says,³ "The difficulty in collecting troops was so great that I recommended martial power, as they were legally detached soldiers, and subject to martial law, which was done, and the quota partly filled in that way. Collected four hundred and thirty-three, rank and file, and embarked them for Townsend. Some were old men, some boys, and some invalids; if they belonged to the Train Band or Alarm List, they were soldiers, whether they could carry a gun, walk a mile without crutches, or only *compos mentis* sufficient to keep themselves out of fire and water." The Cumberland recruits were of much the same general character. These facts were repre-

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² State Archives, vol. 145, page 275.

³ State Archives, vol. 145, page 284.

sented to the General, who wrote at once to the several brigadiers to fill up their quotas immediately. Some of these subsequent levies reached the Penobscot just previous to the final catastrophe.

The adjutant says further, in relation to their equipments: "most of them had arms, but many were out of repair, little or no ammunition, and most of the officers and men quite unacquainted with any military manœuvre, and even the manual exercise."

Major Todd states¹ that he "received orders on the 2d July to repair to York County, to receive the troops raised there. Arrived at Wells on the 6th, and after the most urgent endeavors, consulting with General Frost and the colonels of the respective regiments," he had received, up to the 13th, not more than sixty men, some of whom were brought in by force of arms; on the 14th he had ready to march one hundred and thirty men, and the next day set out for Casco Bay.

These testimonies are necessary in order to understand the material with which the General had to work, and the difficulties that beset his way from the very outset. Even recruits of this class were deficient in number fully one-third.

While at Townsend, General Lovell, pursuant to instructions, held an interview with chiefs of the "Norridgewalk" Indians,² and finding them apparently friendly and ready with their promises, he supplied them with necessaries. It appears from their subsequent conduct that the friendship was real, and the promises fully carried out, the expedition receiving valuable aid, not only in men for the army, but also in service as guides; a large number being engaged in the military operations, a full list of whom may be found in "Kidder's Eastern Maine," in which may be found much other valuable original matter connected with the expedition.

¹ State Archives, vol. 145, page 230.

² Lovell's Journal. State Archives, vol. 145, pages 9, 10.

CHAPTER VIII.

PENOBCOT EXPEDITION.—OPENING THE CAMPAIGN.

THE arrangements were fully completed on the 23d,¹ and on the morning of Saturday, the 24th, the armament set sail from Townsend, with a fair wind, arriving the same evening at the mouth of Penobscot Bay, and cast anchor under the Fox Islands. They had observed numerous fires along the coast from point to point as they proceeded, a fact very unusual at this season of the year. These were, no doubt, the work of British emissaries to give warning of the approach of the enemy. Here they were joined by some Penobscot Indians, who proceeded with them. They had been tampered with by General McLean, but had refused his offers.²

On Sunday morning, Captain Mitchell of Belfast having been engaged as guide, the fleet proceeded up the bay, the transports coming to anchor under the bluff at "Bragaduce," about seven o'clock in the evening, under cover of ship "Charming Sally" and brigs "Hazard" and "Active"; several of the ships saluting the small battery at the water-side with broadsides as they passed. A landing was at once attempted under the bluff, which was thickly covered with brush and trees,³ but the sea being so rough, on account of the high wind, that there would be danger that the first division might

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² Adj. Hill. State Archives, vol. 145, page 284.

³ Lovell's Journal.

be cut off before the second could be brought to its support, counter-orders were issued, which reached the first division just as they received the fire from the enemy, who lay concealed among the brush, where they could not be seen. They re-embarked with the loss of one Indian killed.

News of the intended expedition had reached General McLean on the 18th,¹ to which he paid little attention. On the day following, the intelligence was partially confirmed, and the work on the fortifications renewed with the greatest vigor; the men working night and day, assisted by about one hundred of the inhabitants, who served as volunteers, clearing off the wood, for which they received the thanks of the General. Notwithstanding, however, their most strenuous endeavors, when the enemy arrived off the harbor they were in no posture for defence, and were greatly disheartened. On the appearance of the American fleet "the seamen at work on the fort were recalled; the 'Albany,' 'North' and 'Nautilus' formed in close order across the entrance of the harbor, just inside of the rocks on 'Magabagwaduce Point,' and the point off Bank's Island, afterwards called Nautilus, or Cross Island, giving berth for three transports out of line of fire. The troops were encamped about half a mile from the works. The well bastion was not yet begun, nor that of the seamen quite finished. Now the works were put into the best defensible condition, some guns mounted, the army in garrison, and gunboats watching the enemy," while urgent despatches were sent to Halifax for immediate reinforcement.

On the 26th, the first division was ordered by General Lovell to make a feint of landing on the bluff head of Maga-Bagaduce, and the marines to attack the enemy

¹ Calef's Journal, in Wheeler's Castine.

upon Bank's Island, a position commanding the shipping in the harbor and also one of their batteries.¹ The attempt was entirely successful. The marines made good their landing, secured the position, driving the enemy from the island, capturing at the same time four cannon and some ammunition, without the loss of a man. The position was immediately taken possession of by General Wadsworth with the first division, which had left its feint for the purpose, although in making the landing, a chain-shot from the enemy's shipping sunk one of the boats, and "the worthy Major Littlefield," with two men, was drowned. Entrenching tools were ordered on shore at once, an embankment thrown up, and a battery mounted, consisting of two eighteen-pounders and one twelve, in addition to a brass howitzer and a field-piece. The retreat of the British was so precipitate that they left their tents standing, and their flag as a trophy fell into the hands of the marines, who presented it to General Lovell. The post was left in charge of Captain Harker, with Captains Johnson and Edmunds and a detachment of troops.² This movement compelled the British to withdraw their ships to a position farther up the harbor.

During this time the fleet under Commodore Saltonstall had kept up, at intervals, a desultory cannonade upon the enemy with very little result. There appeared to be a disposition on the part of the Commodore to avoid any offensive movement, and to keep his fleet as far from danger as possible. The effect of this action, or rather want of action, was such as to cause the greatest dissatisfaction and disgust among the officers of the fleet, who did not allow this feeling to conceal itself or die for want of expression. As early as the 27th,

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² Adj. Hill. State Archives, vol. 145, page 284.

the following circular, certainly not at all ambiguous, signed by upwards of thirty of the lieutenants and masters, was put into the hands of the Commodore by Lt. Peter Pollard of the "Active":¹

"TUESDAY, A. M., 27 July, 1779.

"*To the Honor^o the Commodore & Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet now lying in this Harbor. A Petition of the Lieutenants and Masters of the several armed vessels now under your Honour's command.*

Humbly sheweth.

"That we your Petitioners strongly impress'd with the importance of the expedition, and earnestly desire to render our Country all the service in our power — would Represent to your Honour that the most speedy Exertions shou'd be used to accomplish the design we come upon. We think Delays in the present case are extremely dangerous: as our Enemies are daily fortifying and strengthening themselves, & are stimulated so to do being in daily Expectation of a Reinforcement. We don't mean to advise, or censure your past conduct, But intend only to express our desire of improving the present opportunity to go Immediately into the Harbour & attack the Enemy's ships. however we humbly submit our Sentiments to the better Judgment of those in Superior command. Therefore wait your orders whether in answer to our Petition or otherwise — and as in duty bound will ever pray."

Signed by DAVID PORTER, 1st Lieut. of Ship "Putnam," and thirty others.

This document, expressing the feelings of nearly all of the officers under his command, did not, as the event

¹ State Archives, vol. 145, page 50.

proved, produce the desired effect, for, while assenting ostensibly to the necessity of an immediate attack by the fleet upon the enemy's insignificant force, obstacles and delays were always the order of the day, and the work was not attempted.

On the afternoon of this day, when the Commodore must have felt the full force of this composing draught, a council of naval and land officers was held on board the "Warren," and the determination reached, to land upon the peninsula now in possession of the enemy, to obtain a permanent foothold, and to dislodge them if possible.¹

Accordingly, before light on Wednesday morning, all the troops were ordered into their boats, and a little before sunrise were formed, and, with hearty cheers, pushed for the shore, under cover of the guns from the fleet, intending to land under the high, precipitous bluff forming the south-western base of the peninsula, here nearly two hundred feet in altitude, and of nearly perpendicular ascent. The almost inaccessible nature of the shore, had led the British to believe that no attempt to land at this place would be made; therefore, no protective works had been erected; the steep bank and the thick brush affording sufficient protection for the troops necessary for its defence.

Under this cover, some three hundred of the enemy were posted, who, as soon as the boats struck the beach, opened their fire. The American force was formed in two divisions, the marines, about one hundred and fifty of whom were in the engagement, with a part of Colonel McCobb's militia on the right, the remainder in the centre, General Lovell landing with the latter.² Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² Adj. Hill. State Archives, Vol. 145, page 284. Lovell's Journal.

the ascent, and the enemy's fire directly in their faces, the troops pushed on with the greatest intrepidity, although with but little order, scaled the heights, swept the foe before them, and captured a position upon the bluff which was of the highest importance, since it gave them a point from which future operations against the fort could be conducted with the greatest advantage. The hard fighting was upon the right, the marines suffering severely, while the other division, closing in with too much precipitation, drove the enemy from the ground, and enabled them to escape. The fight lasted but twenty minutes, and considering that the attacking force was composed of undisciplined militia, most of whom were never before in action ; the ascent almost too difficult to be undertaken unopposed, made in the face of a strong party of veteran troops, it may be fairly set down as one of the most brilliant exploits of the war. Says General Lovell, "When I returned to the Shore, it struck me with admiration to see what a Precipice we had ascended, not being able to take so scrutinous a view of it in time of Battle; it is at least where we landed three hundred feet high, and almost perpendicular, & the men were obliged to pull themselves by the twigs & trees. I dont think such a landing has been made since Wolfe." ¹

The loss of the Americans was fourteen killed and twenty wounded, including the "brave Major Welch of the marines, and Capt. Hinckley of the Lincoln militia," ² while that of the enemy was fifteen killed, three wounded and eight prisoners. The American loss was greatly exaggerated by the enemy, some accounts making it as high as one hundred; but the report of

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² Lovell's Journal, and letter to the council, Aug. 1. State Archives, vol. 145, page 61.

General Lovell, from which these figures are taken, is undoubtedly correct.

Orders were immediately given to secure the position, which was within point-blank range of the enemy's fort, by intrenchments and a battery. This compelled them to abandon their battery on South-east Point, leaving behind them three six-pounders, and also to withdraw their shipping to a point inside, commanded by their batteries, and "out of reach of our shot."

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

ON the 29th, a new battery was erected by the Americans, about sixty rods in advance of their former lines, and but a quarter of a mile from Fort George, mounting two eighteen-pounders, one twelve-pounder and one howitzer, which were ready for duty on Friday and opened fire, the fleet threatening at the same time hostile measures. At this demonstration, the enemy sunk most of their transports and retired with their artillery to the fort, which was the only ground now held by them, except a small redoubt that protected their shipping.¹

While this movement was in progress, fatigue parties were engaged in strengthening the works on the heights, also in making a covered way across the isthmus connecting with the main, and in clearing a road in case a retreat should become necessary. Cannonading was carried on for several days, between the fort and the ships, assisted by the batteries, but generally without result. A packet from Halifax, taken by the fleet, was brought in, but the despatches had been destroyed; the only news, which was obtained from prisoners, being the constant expectation of a reinforcement by the enemy, and the fact that they were at work day and night, strengthening their positions, every day's delay being of great value to them.

About two o'clock on Sunday morning, August 1,

¹ Lovell's letter to the Council. State Archives, vol. 145, page 62.

General Lovell detached General Wadsworth with about three hundred men, a part of whom were sailors and marines, to capture the redoubt that covered the enemy's shipping and commanded the harbor. They marched forward in good order until they received the fire from the garrison, when they broke; "a few, however, nothing daunted, pushed bravely forward and forced the battery, but were obliged to destroy it, as it was commanded by the enemy's main fort.¹ They killed five of the enemy and captured eighteen, destroying their stores, with a loss of four missing and twelve wounded; among the latter was Major Sawyer."

A proclamation which had been issued by General Lovell to the neighboring inhabitants on the 29th, to counteract the British influence in that direction, was quite successful, and the people were beginning to come in freely in consequence. The greatest harmony and zeal existed among the troops, who were very active in carrying forward the plans of the General, notwithstanding they were suffering severely from a storm that came up, having no shelter.² Rev. Mr. Murray, "who has distinguished himself as a citizen and a soldier, who has undergone the fatigues of my camp and finding it necessary to despatch a courier has voluntarily offered his services," was sent to Boston for reinforcements and supplies.³

During all this time General Lovell had been using his utmost endeavors to persuade the Commodore to go in with the fleet and destroy the few ships of the enemy remaining in the harbor, when the fort could be attacked with good prospect of success; but the Commodore declined, unless the General would storm the fort at the

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² Lovell's letter to the Council, August 1. State Archives, vol. 145, page 62.

³ State Archives, vol. 145, page 63.

same time, which the latter did not feel himself strong enough to do without the aid of the marines to co-operate. At one time the Commodore answered the request by pointing to the three-gun battery, destroyed on Sunday morning;¹ at another he urged that his ships might suffer, and as there was no place at which to refit, he might fall a sacrifice should a reinforcement arrive in aid of the enemy. And thus there was delay upon delay, and every day was a golden opportunity improved by the enemy.

Nor was General Lovell the only one to complain of the inactivity and want of enterprise of the Commodore; his own officers were equally dissatisfied, as is fully shown by the letter addressed to him on the 27th, already mentioned. They were almost unanimously in favor of attacking the ships at once. Colonel Brewer, who was in the fort only the day before the arrival of the fleet, told the Commodore that "he (the Commodore) could silence the vessels and the battery in half an hour, and have everything his own way." He was answered by an oath, and "I am not going to risk my shipping in that d——d hole." To Captain Titus Salter, of the "Hampden," who ventured a similar suggestion, he replied by threatening to reduce his ship to a bread transport.²

Owing to the refusal of Commodore Saltonstall to go in with his ships, it became necessary to adopt other measures to act against the enemy's vessels, and General Wadsworth was sent on the 3d with a detachment to erect a battery upon the main, opposite their anchorage, to drive them away.³ They landed at Swet's Cove, and with the aid of some of the seamen from the "Hazard" and "Tyrannicide," placed in position a battery, mount-

Lovell's Defence. State Archives, vol. 145, page 223.

¹ Williamson's Belfast, page 176.

² Lovell's Journal.

ing one eighteen-pounder, one nine-pounder, and one field-picce, and opened fire, but with little effect, the distance was so great, being a mile and a quarter; and the General writes sadly in his journal of the 4th, "it is all the Army can do they have tried their best."

For several days the progress of the siege was a succession of cannonades, alarms and fatigue duty, principally the latter, the outworks of the Americans being within musket-shot of the fort, and the whole army in the woods, within point-blank range. On the 6th, General Lovell again wrote Commodore Saltonstall, desiring to know "if he would go in and destroy the *three* sloops of *War* of the enemy," with the same result;¹ and again the General writes the Council by Major Braddish, urging immediate reinforcements.

There was little change in the position of affairs for several days. Occasional skirmishing, cannonading from the batteries and shipping upon the enemy's works, but with no important results. In the meantime, it was becoming more and more apparent that a crisis was approaching when some decisive movement must be made, or the expedition abandoned. The continued inaction, with stormy weather, which was causing great loss of ammunition and provisions, and want of proper shelter was having its effect upon the men, who were fast becoming demoralized. To test the temper and discipline of the troops, Gen. Lovell, on the 10th, ordered out a strong skirmishing force, under Adj't. Gen. Hill, consisting of six hundred men, volunteers, if possible.² The impression having gone abroad that a general assault was intended, it was with extreme difficulty that four hundred were obtained; Col. Mitchell filling his quota of two hundred, after great exertion,

¹ Lovell's Journal.

² State Archives, vol. 145, page 284; Adj't. Hill's report.

by including old men, boys and invalids, Col. McCobb succeeded in raising about one hundred and fifty, and Maj. Cousins, seventy-five, but twenty of them deserting during the night, and thirty more having been detached to look up the fugitives, he could furnish none; the remainder, about fifty, were made up from the new levies. "Col. Mitchell's officers were so terrified that they complained of his nomination, and even drew lots as to who should go."

On the following day, they were thoroughly tested in the field with the enemy; but with such results that the General did not dare to undertake any important movement.

At the same time, the Navy Board, informed of the slow progress of the siege, and the want of co-operation on the part of the fleet, wrote to the Commodore, Aug. 12, complaining, in very strong terms, of his inaction and backwardness in not attacking and destroying the British shipping, when, by general acknowledgment, it was in his power to do so, and directing him to do it at once.

On the 11th, the General had written to the Commodore a very severe letter which was found by the enemy on a captured transport, and afterwards published, in the following terms¹:

"SIR: In this alarming posture of affairs, I am once more obliged to request the most speedy service in your department; and that a moment be no longer delayed to put in execution what I have been given to understand was the determination of your last council.

The destruction of the Enemy's ships must be effected at any rate, although it might cost us half our own;

¹ Wheeler's Castine, pages 310 and 311.

but I cannot possibly conceive that danger, or that the attempt will miscarry. I mean not to determine on your mode of attack, but it appears to me so very practicable, that any further delay must be infamous; and I have it this moment, by a deserter from one of their ships, that the moment you enter the harbor they will destroy them, which will effectually answer our purpose."

The idea of more batteries was reprobated, having been sufficiently tried; besides, "that would take up dangerous time." He expresses his ardent desire to co-operate with the fleet in active operations; that the army had reached the limit of its power; the probability of a speedy reinforcement of the enemy necessitating instant action or the disgrace of losing their ships, the retreat of the army being secured. He continues: "I feel for the honor of America, in an expedition which a nobler exertion had, long before this, crowned with success; and I have now only to repeat the absolute necessity of undertaking the destruction of the ships or quitting the place."

In the meantime, councils had been held, nearly every day, of land or sea forces, or both combined; but the fact that the Commodore was averse to action, declining to risk an attack for fear of damaging his vessels, and that a large part of his captains, their ships being private property, shared the same feelings, and that there was but little show of prize-money, produced conflicting opinions, and prevented decisive results.

On the 7th, an incident of a ludicrous character occurred, which exposed the actors to no small amount of disgrace.¹ The Commodore, with five of his captains, while reconnoitering in an open, unarmed boat

¹ Lovell's Journal.

near the enemy, was discovered by them, who, guessing their character, immediately fitted out a strong party, in eight boats, and gave chase. The pursuit was so sharp that the Commodore and his company, in order to escape capture, ran their boat on shore, and took to the bush. The boat fell a prize to the enemy, while the officers, after remaining on shore all night, succeeded in reaching the fleet the next morning.¹

¹ Calef's Journal, in Wheeler's Castine.

CHAPTER X.

THE DEFEAT.

ON the 12th, however, Gen. Lovell came to the determination to take up such a position as should compel the Commodore to move, although his force was, at this time, really inferior to that of the enemy, being but about nine hundred men, including the train of artillery and volunteers,¹ although expecting reinforcements from Cols. Allen and Foster, and hoping for some, also, from the Continental government.² Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 13th, he proceeded, with four hundred men, to the rear of the enemy's position, and took post where he could operate to the best advantage. The move was a dangerous one, but gave fair promise of success. Gen. Lovell immediately despatched intelligence of his action to Commodore Salt-onstall, who had always insisted that the army should attack the fort before the fleet should enter the harbor.³

¹ In the first return made during the expedition, July 20, eight hundred and seventy-three men reported fit for duty; the second, July 31, eight hundred and forty-seven men; the third, Aug. 4, seven hundred and sixty-two; the fourth, Aug. 7, seven hundred and fifteen; and the fifth, and last, nine hundred and twenty-three, with one hundred and thirty-eight on the sick-list, one hundred and forty-four on command, and eight on furlough; two companies having joined Col. McCobb since the previous return, the artillery and volunteers being included only in the last return. [State Archives, vol. 145, pages 48, 60, 66, 83 and 101.]

² Arrangements had already been made to send Col. Jackson, with four hundred regulars, also a naval contingent, with additional supplies, which were, however, too late to be of any avail, the expedition having been defeated about the time the reinforcements sailed from Boston. [See "Orders of Council," Aug. 8 to 15. State Archives, vol. 145, page 391.]

³ Lovell's Journal.

They at once weighed anchor, but had no sooner made sail than report was brought that a fleet was entering the bay. Word was instantly conveyed to the General, who, without loss of time, returned to his previous position. At twelve in the night, intelligence came from the Commodore that the strange fleet were ships of force, and British.

Orders were given for an immediate retreat, which was effected in good order, and without loss. The batteries were dismantled, and the artillery re-embarked on the transports, the fatigue parties, with the entrenching tools, and every other article of value, were on board by daylight, the troops by sunrise, and orders were given to proceed up the river, under command of Gen. Wadsworth. The only articles not brought off were two eighteen-pounders and one twelve-pounder, on an island at the entrance of the harbor, under the care of the officers of the navy.¹ The General used every effort to secure these, but the time was too short, and the covering ships had withdrawn.

The transports immediately proceeded up the bay; but when they reached the mouth of the river, about two leagues away,—the breeze falling and the tide being on the ebb,—they cast anchor. The General, meanwhile, took a barge, and waited upon the Commodore, to try and induce him to offer what resistance was possible to the British, and thus enable the transports, with the troops and stores, to escape to some point on the river above, where a stand could be made, and the fleet, perhaps, saved; but, on reaching the "Warren," they were told that it was determined to run up the river, and the ships were even then getting under way for the purpose, a light breeze beginning to be felt, while the enemy's first division was coming in under

¹ Lovell's Report in State Archives, vol. 145, page 158.

full sail, distant about two miles.¹ Learning the determination of the Commodore, Gen. Lovell, after expressing his surprise at the movement, embarked on board his boat to return to his troops; but the breeze increased so rapidly that the ships-of-war soon came up with them, and the General was taken on board the "Hazard."

From this time forward, there was but one continued scene of consternation and confusion. Finding that they were to receive no support from the armed vessels which were only doing their best to make good their own escape, the transports immediately proceeded to get under way, just feeling the breeze; but, being now astern, close to the enemy, and finding that they must inevitably fall into their hands, nothing was thought of by the crews but as speedy escape as possible to the shore, and hardly an attempt was made to save anything. Some were run on shore, some anchored, some abandoned with all sails set, and most set on fire. Officers were despatched by Gen. Lovell to the shore to collect and take charge of the troops; but so great was the panic, so convenient the woods and the approaching night, that but few could be found; the greater part, thinking that nothing further was expected of them, made the best of their way, singly or in squads, towards the Kennebec, where the most of them arrived, after nearly a week's fatigue, suffering greatly from exposure and hunger, some of them tasting no food for several days.²

The ships-of-war were in no better condition than the transports, simply flying into a trap whence they could be taken at leisure. The General, fearing their destruction, hastened to secure their safety, urging that a line

¹ State Archives, vol. 145, pages 230-7. Maj. Todd's Report.

² Todd's Report. State Archives, vol. 145, page 230.

be formed across the river, and a defence made at some point where that could easily be done, offering to support them with the troops that remained; but upon application to the Commodore to know if any measures had been concerted for their security, he found him wholly undetermined and irresolute — completely unmanned.¹

The hostile fleet consisted of seven sail, — one two-decker, two frigates, two sloops-of-war, with two smaller vessels, — carrying two hundred and four guns and fifteen hundred and thirty men, under Sir George Collier.² This force, with the three sloops-of-war already in the harbor, presented too strong a force to be successfully contested in the open sea; but in a river, offering so many points of easy defence as the Penobscot, the result was shameful, since the American force was yet numerically much superior to that of the enemy in guns and men, although inferior in weight of metal and tonnage.

Sir George made no delay, but proceeded at once to attack his foe, and his boldness had the desired effect, producing, as has been seen, the panic that resulted in the total destruction of the fleet.³ The Hunter, Hampden and Defence, in attempting to reach the sea by the western passage, round the head of Long Island, were intercepted, the two former captured, and the latter run into an inlet and set on fire. The remainder of the fleet fled before the enemy up the river and were all set on fire and blown up at various points.

The ordnance brig, on board of which was all the artillery and ammunition, with the troops of Lt. Col. Revere (he having gone on shore at Fort Pownal), the sole dependence of the army in case a stand should be

¹ Lovell's Report. State Archives, vol. 145, page 158.

² Wheeler's Castine, page 50.

³ Wheeler's Castine, pages 350-2.

made, was deserted, but cleared herself from the transports, and made her way alone up the river for several miles, but was then boarded, set on fire, and burned with all her contents.¹ The destruction was complete, but two or three of the vessels falling into the hands of the enemy. In relation to the last act in this disgraceful drama, the General writes:² "The Transports then again weigh'd anchor, and to our great mortification were soon followed by our fleet of men of war, pursued by only four of the enemy's ships, the ships of war passed the transports, many of which got aground, and the British ships coming up the soldiers were obliged to take to the shore and set fire to their vessels. To attempt to give a description of this terrible day is out of my power. It would be a fit subject for some masterly hand to describe it in its true colors; — to see four ships pursuing seventeen sail of armed vessels, nine of which were stout ships — transports on fire — men of war blowing up — provisions of all kinds, and every kind of stores on shore (at least in small quantities) throwing about, and as much confusion as can possibly be conceived."³

After the destruction of the fleet and the dispersion of the troops, excepting a few remnants which he placed in charge of Gen Wadsworth, Gen Lovell proceeded up the river to treat with the Indians, among whom there appeared great uneasiness, some outrages having been already committed by them, which had excited the apprehensions of the inhabitants. He succeeded in

¹ Major Todd's Report, State Archives, vol. 145, page 230.

² Lovell's Journal.

³ The following curious report is from a New York letter published in the "Chronicle and Advertiser," Boston, Sept. 30, 1779 : "In the pursuit of the rebel fleet up the Penobscot, the King's fleet were obliged to come to anchor, on account of the rebels having moored a sloop in the channel and set her on fire; otherwise their whole fleet would have been captured. She was soon towed out of the way, when the rebels blew up and set fire to most of their shipping."

quieting them and in attaching them to the American cause. This accomplished, he took his departure for the Kennebec region under the guidance of some of the friendly Indians, where he arrived safely, but after suffering much fatigue. He here received orders to take post at some point in the eastern part, the best suited, in his judgment, for its protection, with Col. Jackson and the force under his command, and was also empowered to call upon the militia of that section for such reinforcements as he should find indispensably necessary.¹ Having completed his arrangements and settled the military affairs of that part of the Province as well as circumstances would admit, he proceeded to Boston, where he arrived about the 20th of September.²

The entire failure of this important expedition, of which so much had been expected, and upon which had been expended such an amount of money from the already depleted treasury of the Province, caused immense excitement; and the pressure was so great that the General Court felt called upon to investigate the matter. Accordingly, on the 9th of September, the General Assembly appointed a Committee to look into the causes that produced it, to give a most careful examination and report the result.³ This Committee consisted of Generals Michael Farley and Jonathan Titcomb, Col. Moses Little, Major Samuel Osgood and James Prescott, Esq., to whom were joined from the Council Generals Artemas Ward and Timothy Danielson, Hon. William Sever and Francis Dana, Esq.

This Committee organized, with General Artemas Ward, chairman, and after a most thorough hearing, having examined more than thirty witnesses from the naval and military departments of the expedition, on

¹ Records of the Council. State Archives, pages 145, 391; Aug. 19.

² Boston paper, Sept. 23, " Chronicle and Advertiser."

³ State Archives, vol. 145, page 167.

the 7th of October made the following report, in the form of interrogatories and answers.¹

"1st Question. Is it the opinion of this Committee that they have made sufficient inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late expedition to Penobscot?"

Answered unanimously, Yes.

"2d Question. What appears to be the principal reason of the failure?"

Answer, unanimously, Want of proper spirit and energy on the part of the Commodore.

"3d Question. Was General Lovell culpable in not storming the enemy's principal Fort according to the requirement of the Commodore and Naval Council, who insisted upon that as the condition of our ships' attacking the enemy's ships, when at the same time the Commodore informed him in case of such an attack he must call the marines on board their ships (the last was not made a part of the condition by the Naval Council)?"

Answer, unanimously, No.

"4th Question. What, in the opinion of this Committee, was the occasion of the total destruction of our fleet?"

Answer. Principally the Commodore's not exerting himself at all at the time of the retreat in opposing the enemy's foremost ships in pursuit.

"5th Question. Does it appear that Gen. Lovell throughout the expedition and the retreat acted with proper courage and spirit?"

Answer, unanimously, Yes, it is the opinion of the Committee had he been furnished with all the men ordered for the service, or been properly supported by the Commodore, he would probably have reduced the enemy.

¹ General Court Records, vol. 40, pages 65 to 67. State Archives, vol. 145, page 350.

"6th Question. Does it appear that the Commodore discouraged any enterprises or offensive measures on the part of the fleet?"

Answer, unanimously, Yes, and although he always had a majority of his Naval Council against offensive operations, which majority was mostly made up of the commanders of private armed vessels, yet he repeatedly said it was matter of favor that he called any Councils, and when he had taken their advice he should follow his own opinion.

As the naval commanders in the service of the State are particularly amenable to the Government the Committee think it their duty to say that each and every of them behaved like brave, experienced, good officers throughout the whole of the expedition.

"7th Question. What was the conduct of Brigadier Wadsworth during his command?"

Answer. Brigadier Wadsworth (the second in command) throughout the whole expedition, during the retreat and after, till ordered to return to Boston, conducted with great activity, courage, coolness and prudence.

The Committee find that the number of men ordered to be detached for this service were deficient nearly one-third. Whether the shameful neglect is chargeable upon the Brigadiers, Colonels, or other officers whose particular duty it might have been to have faithfully executed the orders of the General Assembly, they cannot ascertain. Oct. 7, 1779.¹

It appears from the records of the expedition that a warrant for a court-martial for the trial of Dudley Saltonstall was issued at the same time the Committee of Inquiry was ordered, September 7, to meet on board the Deane frigate on the 14th.²

¹ Hon. Mr. Sever not present at all at the enquiry, and the Cols. Prescott and Little absent when this report was made. State Archives, vol. 145, page 350.

² State Archives, vol. 145, page 169.

On the 14th the court met and adjourned to the 28th of the same month, at the request of the Naval Board, and in accordance with a resolve of the General Court, to see what action the latter body would take in relation to the matter, the Commodore also complaining that hasty action would greatly prejudice his cause. The most careful search among all known sources of information fails to discover any further traces of this court-martial, although several of the accredited histories, and general tradition, state that he was cashiered and pronounced forever incapacitated for holding governmental office.¹ (The records of this proceeding may have been filed at Washington in the Navy Department and destroyed when the public buildings were burned by the British in the war of 1812-15.) That such was the result in his case there can be little doubt, from the finding of the Court of Inquiry, and from the fact that he disappears from that time, and is never heard of afterwards in the public records, while the other officers prominent in the expedition retained their positions, and the confidence of the authorities, including Lt. Col. Revere, who was censured for his conduct while in that service.

The Penobscot expedition, while it reflects lasting disgrace upon the one chief delinquent (whether acting from cowardice, or bribery, or both, it has been impossible to determine), casts no discredit upon the commander of the land forces, but leaves him with an untarnished reputation, as a brave, patriotic and skilful general.

It has been seen that, from the outset, difficulties crowded in his way. Delay followed delay in the fitting out and sailing of the fleet from Boston. The short complement and inferior quality of the men provided by the officers ordered to furnish them, on their

¹ Wheeler's Castine, 52. Williamson's Maine, vol. 2, page 477.

arrival in Maine, and the want of co-operation on the part of the Commodore, were obstacles not easy to be overcome, even by acknowledged genius. It may be objected that he did not act with sufficient promptness and energy, which, had he done, the fort would have fallen upon the first attack; but the disheartened condition of the garrison and the weakness of the works could hardly have been known to the General; on the contrary, he knew the almost total want of discipline of his own force, which report had exaggerated to the enemy to four times its real number; and he knew, also, that the force opposed to him was nearly equal to his own in numbers, besides being veteran troops; that they had been in active preparation for more than a month; and he had strong reason to believe that they were fully ready for his attack, while his main reliance was the fleet. Had the enemy's ships, whose fire covered their fort, been destroyed, his work would have been plain and comparatively easy.

The landing effected on the 28th July was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, reflecting the highest credit upon him who planned and executed it; nor, had it not been for the subsequent misfortune, would it have suffered in comparison with the more widely celebrated capture of Stony Point by Wayne, a nearly contemporaneous action. It has been shown how persistent were his endeavors in urging the Commodore up to his duty, and his efforts in taking advantage of every circumstance to reduce his enemy on the land within the smallest possible compass; also, how well he succeeded in the latter by confining him at last to the walls of his fort; and the report of the Committee of Inquiry of the General Court will be fully sustained by any one who looks carefully through the voluminous reports of the expedition on the files of the State department in Boston.

CHAPTER XI.

SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

BESIDES his military services, and his duties as town officer, it will be seen by the Records of the Council, May 10, 1776, that Col. Lovell was appointed a Justice of the Peace, for Weymouth ;¹ a position which he appears to have held through the greater part of his subsequent career, having been reappointed, as his commissions show, in 1778, 1781 and 1789.

Upon his return from the Penobscot expedition, Gen. Lovell immediately resumed his position as commander-in-chief of the Suffolk militia.² In August, 1780, he was unanimously chosen by the Council to the command of the three months' men, in place of Brig. Gen. Fellows, resigned, which position, from some cause, he also resigned.³ July 1, 1781, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of the Suffolk militia (his resignation had not prejudiced him in the eyes of the governor), which position he continued to hold to the close of the war.⁴

Nor did his misfortune in Maine lower him in the estimation of his townsmen, for, April 24, 1780, he, with James Humphrey, Esq., Cotton Tufts, Esq., and others, was chosen to consider and report upon the new constitution.⁵ This committee reported in favor of that instrument as a whole, at the same time proposing sev-

¹ Records of the Council, vol. 7, page 150.

² Records of the Council, vol. 14, page 111.

³ Records of the Council, vol. 14, page 838.

⁴ Private papers of Gen. Lovell.

⁵ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 65.

eral amendments, which their delegate, Hon. James Humphrey, was to advocate to the best of his ability, although he was instructed to vote for its adoption, even should they not be secured. In December of the same year, with others, he was chosen on a committee to fill up the town's quota, and also to draw up further instructions to the representative in the General Court.¹

In March, 1781, he was elected selectman, and in May of the same year representative to the General Court.² This year the town voted a bounty of three hundred dollars, hard money, or fifty dollars bounty and ten dollars per month, for recruits for the Continental service. In those days the fishery question was deemed a matter of so much consequence that the following instructions were given to General Lovell, their representative, December 24.³

"So important is the Fishery of the United States in general and to this State in particular that we conceive it necessary, that in negotiating a Peace, the Right of the United States to the Fishery should be made an indispensable article of treaty, you are therefore instructed to use your influence in the next Sessions of the General Court that application be made to Congress for that Purpose." Also that he request further time for filling up the requisition of December 2; and that the Treasurer of the Commonwealth suspend the executions against the constables of the town.

He served the town as selectman until 1787, and as representative in 1783. In September of the latter year he was chosen with Hon. Cotton Tufts to act for the town in a suit brought against it.⁴

¹ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 71.

² Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 72.

³ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 82.

⁴ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 87.

⁴ Weymouth Town Record, vol. 2, page 105.

The town of Weymouth seems to have had a decided objection to any separation from Suffolk County, for when the matter was in agitation in 1784, Gen. Lovell was chosen to represent the town, and also in 1793, when Norfolk County was set off from the former, Urban Bates and Gen. Lovell were chosen a committee to draft and prefer a petition to the General Court to set off Weymouth from Norfolk County, and reannex the same to Suffolk,¹ but without avail, and Weymouth remains a part of Norfolk County to this day. From this time to the close of his life the General held various positions of trust and importance in the gift of the town ; the most prominent movement, however, of his later years, was in connection with an attempt to divide the town.

When the town was divided into two Precincts in 1723, and the South Parish was formed, the question of the parsonage property which had been granted by the town at various times for religious purposes, was left unsettled, and became, ever afterwards, a fruitful source of contention ; and was almost continually a cause of irritation and discord in town meetings. This gradually extended to other matters, and the trouble became so serious as to warrant, in the minds of many of the citizens, a desire for a separation. Gen. Lovell, one of the most prominent of the citizens of the North Parish, and a large property owner, was among the foremost in agitating the question of a new town ; and in May, 1796, the matter had reached such a strength that a petition for the purpose had been presented to the General Court; but the town was not yet quite ready to sustain the petition, and so instructed their representative to oppose it.²

¹ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 181.

² Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 199.

The matter was by no means settled when the petitioners had leave to withdraw. It but added fuel to the flame already kindled, which in the end very nearly accomplished the purpose intended, the town in January, 1798, voting in favor of a similar petition.¹ The business, however, was principally done in the parish meetings rather than in those of the town, each parish being nearly unanimous in its own meeting—the North for, the South against.

As early as 1774, when he was elected one of the assessors of the North Parish,² Gen. Lovell took a deep interest in the affairs of the Parish, although it does not appear that he was ever a member of the church; and from that time until 1797, he almost continuously held important office therein, or served upon responsible committees. Nothing of consequence was done in which his advice and counsel were not sought. Was the parsonage property in question, or a new minister to be called, Gen. Lovell was always a member of the Parish Committee. And so, when the question of a division of the town came up in the deliberations of the Parish, he was one of the leaders, and with forty-three others³ on the first recorded vote on the question, was found in favor of separation, to nineteen against it.

He was chosen on the committee to confer with the South Parish⁴ in relation to the matter. In 1797, he was chosen one of the committee with Col. Asa White, Lieut. Elnathan Bates, Hon. Cotton Tufts and Capt. Joshua Bates, to petition the General Court for an incorporation as a new town.⁵ The town was thoroughly canvassed with regard to population and property, a

¹ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 206.

² Parish Records, vol. 1, page 110.

³ Parish Records, vol. 1, page 243.

⁴ Parish Records, vol. 1, page 246.

⁵ Weymouth Town Records, vol. 2, page 270.

joint committee afterwards chosen, and a line mutually agreed upon, which was surveyed by James Humphrey, 2d, Esq., and recorded on Parish Records, vol. 2, page 29.¹

Of the private history of Gen. Lovell not much is known, and his personal appearance has not been preserved, no portrait or likeness ever having been taken. A grandson remembers being taken, when a child of only four years, between his grandfather's knees, a position of great honor. He also remembers him as a large, finely-formed man. A granddaughter remembers hearing her mother say that he was a very handsome man on horseback, and that he was also a very pleasant man. What his neighbors thought of him the public records fully attest.

His family consisted of two children by his first wife: the first died in infancy in 1759; the second, Lydia, born May 17, 1761, married Nov. 20, 1796, Mr. Nathaniel Beale. By his second marriage there issued a son, James, born Jan. 27, 1763, who died March 30, same year; then followed Sarah, born May 5, 1764, who died in 1767; Hannah, born Oct. 18, 1765, and died Dec. 19, same year; also another Hannah who died June 14, 1767; Dr. James, born Jan. 1, 1768, who married, Nov. 8, 1798, Mrs. Priscilla Winch, and died April 8,

¹ The action extended over a period of several years, the latter part of which Dr James Lovell, son of Gen. Solomon, replaced his father in conducting the business. Among the Doctor's papers, those relating to this matter are very full and valuable, particularly those relating to the vital and property statistics, from which it appears that of the 1803 inhabitants, 965 were of the North Parish, and 838 of the South; of the 412 ratable polls, 211 were of the North, and 201 of the South; while the North had at interest \$20,133, and two-fifths of the acres of land, and the South had at interest \$22,950, and three-fifths of the number of acres. At the last action in the North Parish the vote was unanimous. The Committee of the Senate, 1802, drafted a bill for a new town, which passed that body, but was by the House referred to the next General Court. A further effort was made the next year, but without success, and the matter dropped.

1820, without issue; Hannah, born July 6, 1771, married, Jan. 4, 1798, Capt. Luther Little, of Marshfield, by whom she had several children; and Mary, born April 28, 1773, who married, Sept. 4, 1794, Capt. William Wildes, of Weymouth, by whom she had a large family, several of whom are yet living. Capt. Wildes settled upon the old Lovell estate, and built a house on the eastern slope of King Oak Hill, but a few rods from the spot where stood the old mansion of Capt. Enoch Lovell, the grandfather of General Solomon. The house, the property of a daughter who occupies it, is still standing, and has an ancient, stately look. There are no descendants of the General in the male line, but the name is preserved by several as a middle name among the children and grandchildren of his daughters. There is no record of the last years of the General's life, beyond the public record of his death, which good old Parson Norton records as having taken place Sept. 9, 1801, of a "complication of disorders," aged 69 years. He was buried in the family tomb of the Pitteys, in a field not far to the north of his homestead. The tomb has since fallen to decay, and his remains now rest in the tomb of Capt. William Wildes in Old Burying Ground at North Weymouth. His wife preceded him to the tomb, having passed away July 8, 1795, at the age of 66 years. She, too, according to Parson Norton's diary, died of "complicated disorder."

Such are the facts, as far as they have been accessible, of the life of one of the prominent men of Weymouth. Esteemed and honored in his own town, where most familiarly known, respected and trusted in the counsels of the State, which he for many years served faithfully and well, his name has been handed down through the generations, as that of one of whom the town may well be proud, one to whom the young may look with respect and veneration, whose example it

were safe to follow, and upon whom all may look as a high-minded and worthy citizen.

In making an estimate of the character of Gen. Lovell, the first difficulty encountered is the paucity of material concerning his private life — his social relations; for, aside from family traditions which are by no means profuse, we have almost nothing upon which to build, and the familiar incidents that are so abundant and useful in the lives of many of our public men, and which go so far in giving a true insight into the motives and inducements that prompted and guided the life, are almost wholly lacking in his.

The estimate must be made almost wholly from his public record, as found relating to his various positions of trust and consequence in town, parish, State and military affairs. These afford by no means the most doubtful sources of judgment, but, on the contrary, are probably the most faithful exponents of the general verdict — usually the correct one. From these we may say that he was thoroughly honest and trustworthy. The members of his own parish, who knew him best, and who would have discovered his faults the most quickly, placed him in their most responsible positions, and kept him there. His townsmen, who might be supposed the best judges of their own people, and of the qualities requisite to serve them best, kept him, almost constantly, in the highest offices within their gift; and there is no hint, in any record or tradition, that he ever failed to respond, heartily and satisfactorily, to their calls.

These afford the best evidence, also, of his integrity and ability, as judged by their standards. Of his claims to a higher degree of qualifications than the average of his fellow-citizens in the transaction of public business, and of the confidence reposed in him by those in power in the State government, his repeated

and successive appointments to posts of honor and responsibility, requiring the exercise of talents of a high order, by his fellow-members of the General Court and the officers of the State government, are ample proofs. In his long public service, no sign of disapproval, upon any occasion has left its impress upon the records.

It may be said that his military record, although a long one, was never active or brilliant, and that if he had talents in that direction of a higher order than usual, they had never opportunity to display themselves. But let it be remembered, that his early entrance into military life, amid the active duties of frontier warfare; his steady promotion in the same corps; his appointment by the General Court, of which he was a member, to the important and responsible position of Brigadier-General of the Suffolk militia, giving him the command, virtually, of the large New England district, at a time that called for the nicest tact and discrimination, as well as judgment and skill; his long service there; his appointment to the command of a brigade in the Rhode Island campaign, repeated more than once; his acknowledged service there, and his appointment to the chief command of the land forces in the Penobscot expedition, with his undoubted retention of public confidence, notwithstanding its disastrous issue; the repeated public acknowledgments of the value of his service, without the slightest intimation of dissatisfaction at any time, are certainly no scanty proofs of his military abilities.

The occasions that called for their active exercise in the field were not so many as those of some of his illustrious contemporaries; yet, when they did occur, he was never found delinquent; and in some, where opportunity offered, he exhibited a degree of courage, presence of mind and quick comprehension of the situation,

with skill of adaptation, that do him no discredit when compared with some of our most successful and justly celebrated generals.

If success or failure is to be the test of ability and character, then many of our brightest and best examples must be rejected, and their places filled by others who have nothing but "luck" upon which to found a reputation. But the judgment of mankind has better learned to discriminate, and the meed is given to real worth, although it be often clouded by adverse circumstances. And so it may be truly said of Gen. Lovell: he was honest, brave and competent; faithful in all the relations of life, carrying the respect and esteem of all with whom it was his privilege to associate.

GENERAL LOVELL'S JOURNAL.



JOURNAL.

1779. July, 15.— Set out from Boston at noon embarked on board the Warren in Nantasket Road bound on an Expedition against the Enemies of the States at Penobscot. fresh wind to the northward the Fleet not ready, the Commodore came on board in the afternoon.

Friday, 16.— Ready for sea but the wind at N. E very fresh, parted our Cable.

Saturday, 17.— Drizly weather fresh Breeze at N E

Sunday, 18.— Rainy forenoon. Pleasant afternoon. My family and self went to Weymouth spent a few hours at home.

Monday, 19.— Fair pleasant weather. Wind S. W. the whole Fleet got under way viz. Warren, Putnam, Vengence, Monmouth, Sky Rocket, Hector, Hunter the Brigs Diligence, Hazard, Tyrannicide & ten Transports. the Tyrannicide order'd by the Commodore into Portsmouth wth the signals for the Hampden & orders for her to join the Fleet. this afternoon join'd by the Black Prince a Ship twenty Guns from Salem.

Tuesday, 20. — Last Night lay too off Portsmouth Moderate weather light southerly wind. The Tyrannicide returns from Portsmouth, reports the Hampden sail'd from thence on Monday A. M. a strange sail to Leeward Hazard & Diligence chase, proves to be the

Gen Glover of Marblehead mounting 14 Guns S. Hart Commander News. informed by his Prisoners that seven Thousand Troops had sail'd from England in three hundred Transports the 23^d May.

Wednesday, 21.—Very thick Fogg this forenoon saw none of the Fleet till 11 oclock clears away the Wind sprung up moderate at S. S. West. in the afternoon a pretty Breeze, a sail to windward Putnam, Hector & Hazard order'd to chase proves to be the Sky Rocket Capt Burke, we arrive at Townsend find the first division of Transports join'd by the Hampden from Portsmouth a Ship of 20 Guns, establish Head Quar^rs at the house of the Rev'd Mr Murray a much Genteeler seat than was by most Persons expected to be found in this part of the Country. very agreeably & sociably treated by the worthy Clergyman. examine the returns of the Troops find them fall short of their Quota (which is 1500 Men) above 500 Men. give out orders for the Troops to draw their Provision & Ammunition & other necessaries, and for them to be review'd tomorrow & notwithstanding the shortness of Men to be after review'd embarked immediately.

Thursday, 22.—A fine day the Wind fair but cannot take advantage of it not being ready, This day am visited by the principal Officers of the Army, write to Brig^r from whom the Forces where drawn complaining of the compliment of Men not being forwarded. in the Afternoon review the Troops two Reg^ts embark the other not having supplied themselves are order'd to embark tomorrow by six oclock A. M. the Regiments are commanded by Col^o McCobb, Col^o Mitchell & a Detachment of one hundred & fifty Men by Major Littlefield.

This day the Fleet is join'd by the Charming Sally a fine Ship of 20 Guns & Brig Defence of 14 do Orders

for all the field Officers to attend a Consultation this Evening and Desire the Commodore & his Captains to attend

Friday, 23d.— Mr Murray at my request has determined to proceed with us on the Expedition. I shou'd be wanting in Gratitude where I not to mention with peculiar pleasure the exceeding hospitallity agreeable & polite treatment with which we have been treated in the Worthy Gentlemans family. this morning had an interview with a chief of the Norridge Walk Tribe of Indians, to appearance he & his followers are friendly to our Cause & say they will not assist our Enemies, we supplied them with necessaries & bid them farewell. This morning we embark'd on board the Sloop Sally a Transport but the wind being unfavourable cannot put to sea. issue Orders for the regulation of the landing the Troops. The Troops & Fleet now compleatly ready to proceed.

July. Saturday, 24th.— This morning a fair Breeze & Day set sail from Townsend towards Penobscot. the wind soon dies away to a Calm, till 12 oclock when a fair wind sprung up from S. S. West. we observed several smokes which we are informed is unusual at this Time of the Year. & by their continuing the smoke as we advanc'd along the coast we suppose them to proceed from Traitors hir'd by the Enemy to give them intelligence of our approach. This Evening we are at Anchor Under the Fox Islands nine miles from the Enemy at Magabagaduce, We are visited by some Penobscot Indians who are determined to proceed with us. they have been tamp'd with by Gen McLane but they wou'd not join him.

Sunday, 25.— Come to sail from Fox Island and reach Magabagaduce with a fair light Breeze about 12 oclock when the wind blew pretty hard. the Trans-

ports came to anchor under Bragaduce cover'd by the Ship Sally Brigs Hazard & Active, about seven o'clock We attempted a Landing against a very high head of land cover'd thick with Brush & Trees. the wind blew so high We found if the first division landed they wou'd be in danger before the boats cou'd return and disembark the second, therefore the Gen sent conter Orders just as they receiv'd them they receiv'd the fire from the Enemy on Shore, who cou'd not be seen on acc' of the thickness of the Brush. they returned with the loss of one Indian kill'd

Monday, 26. — The men are of the first division order'd into their boats to make a feint of landing on the Bluff head of Major bragaduce while the marines were to land on an Island in the harbour which commands the Shipping & one of their Batteries. the marines made good their landing drove the Enemy off the Island and took four pieces of Artillery & some ammunition, without the loss of a Man. Gen Wadsworth with the first division left their feint & supported the marines but unfortunately lost the worthy Major Littlefield & two men by a chane shot from the Enemy's Shipping which sunk their Boat and were drownded. the Gen order'd forward the entrenching tools & one 12 pounder & one Brass howit in addition to one Field Piece, likewise two 18 pounders which will make their Battery rather warm by tommow P. M. N B the marines brought a British flag (which they the British Left on the Island) to the General as a Trophy of warr. their retreat was so precipitate that they left their Tents standing, the Ships cannonaded the Enemy & Batteries this afternoon very severely

Tuesday, 27th. — This day is spent in fortifying the Island & preparing for to attack the Enemy in the afternoon we had a Council on board the Warren when

we came to a fixt determination to Land on the Peninsula in possession of the Enemy. this peninsula is formed by the River Penobscot & the River Magabigwaduce from whence it takes its name, that part that joins Penobscot river is an exceeding high Bluff head cover'd thick with Trees & Brush under this head our Transports took their station & the Men of War off the Harbour.

Wednesday, 28th. — This morning before Light all the Troops were order'd into their Boats and a little before Sunrise they formed, & gave three Cheers & pushed on for the Shore, (viz the high land mention'd yesterday,), they soon landed under Cover of a severe Cannonade from our Shipping and were opposed by about three hundred of the Enemy hid behind trees & Bush, and as soon as the Boats struck the Enemy gave them their fire, but they push'd on with bravery & soon drove them from their strong possesion, we then took post in the Woods upon a Piece of Ground as high as their main fort and before Night gave them some shot from a field Piece. When I returned to the Shore it struck me with admiration to see what a Precipice we had ascended, not being able to take so scrutinous a view of it in time of Battle, it is a least where we landed three hundred feet high, and almost perpendicular & the men were obliged to pull themselves up by the twigs & trees. I dont think such a landing has been made since Wolfe. as soon as we made good our landing I sent for the entrenching Tools and we soon had a tolerable covering thrown up we open our Battery from the Island which occasion'd their evacuating a Battery of 3 Guns 6 pounders leaving them behind with some Ammunition in our possesion. We lost this day 14 kill'd & 20 wound'd, the Enemy 15 kill'd 8 Prisoners

Thursday, 29. — We continue fortifying lay out a

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Battery about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the Enemy's Grand Fort nothing remarkable happen'd to day

Friday, 30.— This afternoon we open our Battery of two eighteen pounders & one twelve do. & one Howitz and play upon their grand Fort.

The Lincoln Galley arrived express from Boston.

Saturday, 31.— Continue our Cannonade, which is returned with some vigour from their Fort. One shot from them wounded two Men, & some others did execution

Sunday, Augst 1.— This morning by two oclock I detach'd about 300 Men including Sailors & Marines under the command of Br. Gen Wadsworth to take a Battery in possesion of the Enemy which commands their Harbour, & protects their shiping, they march'd with order till they receiv'd the fire of the Enemy when they broke, but notwithstanding this some brave fellows push'd into the Battery took 18 prisoners & kill'd 5 of the Enemy destroyed some stores and came off with the loss of 4 Men missing & twelve wound'd among the latter Major Sawyer a brave and worthy good officer supposed mortally We cou'd not keep possession as their main fort commanded it. about sunrise it began to rain & rain'd almost the whole Day very severely. as the Men are without Tents it is very distressing but they bear it with a fortitude becoming Americans.

Monday, Aug^t 2.— Nothing remarkable happen'd to Day in the Seige way sent Mr Murray in the Lincoln on express to Boston to inform the Councill of our situation.

Tuesday, Aug^t 3.— This afternoon came to a resolution to erect a Battery on a point of land on the main, opposite the Enemy's Men of War (as the Commodore does not think it expedient to go in with His Ships) to

RECORDED

endeavor to drive them out to him, Send a detachment under Brig^r Wadsworth with one 18 pounder one 9 p & field piece they land in Swets Cove, march 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to place intended, the Seamen from the Hazard & Tyrannicide give every assistance requir'd in getting a Shore the Artillery from the Transports Sent a flag to the Enemy by Capt Thomas & Sec^r Marston to inquire whether Mr. Dennis an amiable young Gentⁿ was prisoner or kill'd learnt he died yesterday of a mortal wound rec'd Sunday morn^g

Wednesday, Aug^t 4. — Open our Battery against their ships of War but to little effect it being too great a distance to be sure of our mark however its all that the Army can do & they have tried their best to destroy them. This Afternoon (& for several Days past) we have had *Alarms*, the enemy made a show of attacking our Battery on the Main, the Gen immediately order'd 100 Men to reinforce Gen Wadsworth & 50 to be in readiness, & the whole Army under Arms, the Men are much fatigu'd being continually on some service or other, either Picket or throwing up works, and are begining to sickly.

Thursday, Aug^t 5. — This Afternoon a party of the Enemy sally'd out on our right but upon receiving a fire from our out Picket they retir'd in confusion to their fort Capt Newcomb with his rangers had a skirmish with a small Party of the Enemy kill'd 4 we lost one Indian

Friday, Aug^t 6. — I wrote a Letter to the Commodore desiring an answer whether he wou'd or whether he wou'd not go in with his Ships & destroy the Shipping of the Enemy which consist only of *three Sloops of war*, when he returned for answer if I wou'd storm the fort he wou'd go in with his Ships upon which I called a Council the result of which was that in our

present situation it was impracticable, with any prospect of Success sent Major Braddish who happen'd to be in Camp with the Express to Boston with the proceedings of both Councils, Land & Sea. Still continue to carry on the Seige with as much Vigour as the small army under my Command will admit, they Enemy sally out in parties which allways occasions an alarm in order to be ready to receive them in case they shou'd approach too near our Camp. Our out works are within musquet Shot of their main fort & the whole Army lay in the Woods within point blank shot

Saturday, Aug^t 7. — A Grand Council of War, on board the Hazard of Land & Sea Officers in the afternoon I detach'd small parties out on our right in order to draw them out & had 100 Men lay conceal'd in the Woods in case they came out to fall upon them & endeavor to take a party of them the bait took, they soon sallied with about 80 Men & rush'd down to cut off our parties, I immediately order'd out the 100 Men, which brought on a Skirmish we had one Man Wounded, & kill'd some of the Enemy

at the same time a Boat from the Hazard with Com^r Saltonstall Capts Waters, Williams, Salter, Holmes & Burke were a reconnoitering up a Cove nigh the Enemy's Ships, on their discovering them they immediately sent 8 Boats armed to hem them in, they so far succeeded that they made a prize of the Boat, but the Gentlemen took to the Bush and escaped being made prisoners

Aug^t 8. — Wet rainy weather very unlucky for the Troops so much of it, as they have very little cover which is very detrimental to their Arms & destroys many Cartridges.

determined to open another Battery against the Enemy's Ships & order the fatigue Men accordingly

Aug 9, 10.—These days the Journal was on board the Transport but nothing remarkable happen'd except firing from our Batteries, & frequent Skirmishing as usual

Aug^t 11.—The Time advances fast that something must be done important, as a Reinforcement if superior to our Fleet, wou'd decide the matter in favour of the Enemy which is said is strongly suspected will arrive very soon We have lately had many Councils of war some for the Ships going in, others for evacuating the present post, But I cou'd not consistant with my Duty to my Country give my Vote for leaving so important a station as I now possess as it is the only Ground on the peninsula which is of equal height with their fort. & as I have received no positive information of any Fleet of the Enemy being destined for this place I have always done everything in my Power for continuing the Seige for if our present Ground is left it will cost many Lives to regain it.

I think the Enemy does not know my force, if they did there's a probability that they wou'd attack me I in order to try my own men after so much Skirmishing how they wou'd act in a Body, after drawing them out on the Plain ground out of sight of their fort, & maneuvering them I detach'd about 200 Men under the Command of Major Brown, Major Boonville, & Major Larabee to march under a Bank, to a Battery they lately evacuated, some distance upon our right & upon a Line with their Main fort (which is now the only post they hold) they tarried sometime in the Battery sent out small parties in order to decoy the Enemy out of their work, they the Enemy sent about 100 Men on the back of the peninsula out of sight of our Posts & soon after they had come nigh the Battery were our Men where stationed, they hid themselves in a field of Corn, till

the signal was given by me for a Retreat finding it grew dark & it wou'd too much fatigue the Men to tarry all Night, as soon as the Major Part had moved off the Enemy sallied from their concealment & gave them a fire, w^{ch} put them in such confusion that notwithstanding the superior behavior of the three Commanders it was impossible to form them but retreated in the greatest hurry.

Augst 12, 1779. — Another Council of War. The Captains of some of the private Ships of War are very uneasy & with pain I must add the Commodore so very desirous of leaving a Post of so much Consequence to the States but in particular to this State that I am in pain from the Consequences, if I shou'd give my Consent to leaving so important a piece of Ground as I now hold, only on a *report* of some Ships sailing Eastward from N. York & they shou'd not arrive I cou'd never forgive the Injury I did my Country, if a superior Fleet does arrive I can but retreat to some convenient place up the River tho at the same time I wish it in my power to act more offensively than I do, But I have only 900 & some odd and the Enemy seven hundred Land & three hundred Seamen & marines who act occasionally pro Mare et Terram but they fear to attack me, & I soon expect reinforcements from Col^o Allan & Foster, & I hope in some time from Government, which will enable me to pursue the Seige with more vigour.

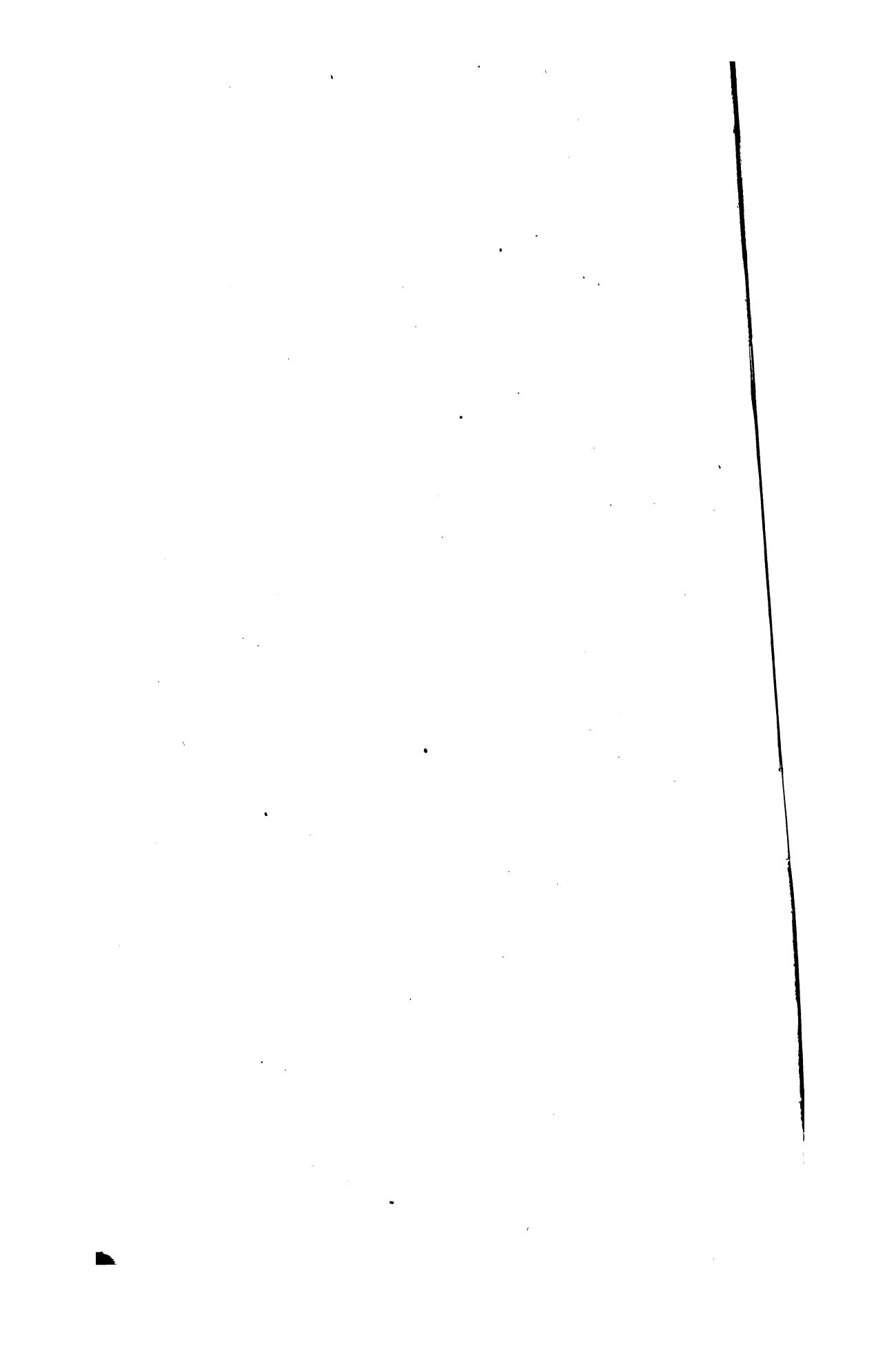
The Enemy are erecting a work in the rear of their fort.

This Evening the Cannon are removed out of our Batteries on board the Transports.

Augst 13. — This afternoon I take the command of 400 Men from the Army & march about in the rear of the Enemy's fort & finding it (tho a great risk) probable to take their work in the rear of their Fort, I sent

word to the Commodore to come in with his Ships, which was what he required before he attempted to attack the Enemy's Ships, they weigh'd anchor & no sooner under Sail than they discover'd a fleet bound in to Penobscot River, he sent me word, & I return'd from my new taken ground in good order without being attacked by the Enemy, at twelve o'clock in the night he wrote me word that they were Ships of force on which I immediately order'd a retreat.

Aug 14. — This morning I compleated my retreat from Magabigwaduce without the loss of a Man and broug^t of all the Stores of the Army unmolested by the Enemy. the Transports got under way to pass up the River but it being calm they soon dropt anchor till 12 o'clock the wind sprung up at the Southward and blew a tolerable breeze, The Transports then again weigh'd Anchor, and to our Great Mortification were soon follow'd by our fleet of Men of War pursued by only four of the Enemy's Ships, the Ships of War passed the Transports many of which got a-Ground, & the British Ships coming up the Soldiers were obliged to take to the Shore, & set fire to their Vessells, to attempt to give a description of this terrible Day is out of my Power it would be a fit Subject for some masterly hand to describe it in its true colours, to see four Ships pursuing seventeen Sail of Armed Vessells nine of which we stout Ships, Transports on fire, Men of War blowing up, Provision of all kinds, & every kind of Stores on Shore (at least in small Quantities) throwing about, and as much confusion as can possibly be conceived.



APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

ROBERT LOVELL GENEALOGY.

A brief genealogical record of the "Weymouth Lovells" may not be out of place here, and the following is believed to be in the main correct.

1. ROBERT¹ LOVELL, the ancestor, was a member of the company of Rev. Joseph Hull, at Weymouth, England, March 20, 1635, and came to Wessaguscus, New England, during the following summer. The name of the town was changed at that time to Weymouth, in kindly remembrance of the port from which they sailed. The company had been gathered by its reverend leader in the counties of Somerset, Worcester and Dorchester, but from which of them Mr. Lovell came does not appear.

He is termed a husbandman, and his age set down at 40 years, while that of his wife, Elizabeth, who accompanied him, is given as 35. They brought with them the following family:

- i. ANNE, dau., aged 16 years.
- ii. ZACHEUS, son, aged 15 years.
2. iii. JOHN, son, aged 8 years.
- iv. ELLEN and
3. v. JAMES, twins, aged 1 year.
with JOSEPH CHICKEN, a servant, aged 16 years.

His will, dated May 3, 1651, and proved June 25, 1672, names only sons John and James, and son-in-law Andrew fford, (the husband of dau. Ellen or Elinor), and a son of John, although there is no record of the birth of any son to the latter until some years later. His property seems to have extended from the tide mill to King Oak Hill, in scattered lots, and probably covered the place on the east side of the latter hill which was in after times the homestead of Capt. Enoch Lovell, the grandfather of Gen. Solomon.

2. JOHN,² (*Robert*¹), m. Jane, dau. of William Hatch of Scituate; probably removed to that town, and later to Barnstable. They had, born in Weymouth:

- i. PHEBE, b. Feb. 19, 1655-6.
- ii. JOHN, b. May 8, 1658.
- iii. ELIZABETH, b. Oct. 28, 1660.
- iv. JAMES, b. Oct. 23, 1662.
- v. WILLIAM, b. Feb. 24, 1664-5.
- vi. ANDREW, b. June 28, 1668.
- vii. JANE, b. July 20, 1670.

There were probably several other children who died in infancy, the son named in his grandfather's will, and a dau. Elizabeth, who died Jan. 21, 1656.

Phebe, m. Nov. 1679, Thomas Bumpus, and Elizabeth, m. Oct. 1684, Thomas Ewer, both of Barnstable. John, m. 1688, Susanna Lombard; James, m. Mary, dau. of Jabez Lombard; William, m. Sept. 24, 1693, Mehitable Lombard; all of Barnstable. Andrew lived in Scituate, where he had a family; his third son, Joseph, probably returned to Weymouth, and was the ancestor of the family of the name now living in "Old Spain." The other three sons, John, James, and William, remained in Barnstable, where their families continued to reside.

3. JAMES,² (*Robert¹*), the younger son of Robert remained in Weymouth, residing, without question, upon the family homestead, upon the eastern slope of King Oak Hill. He m. (1) Jane ——. It is not known to what family she belonged. They had:

- i. DEBORAH, b. June 8, 1664; m. Pratt.
- 4. ii. JAMES, b. Mar. 7, 1667.
- iii. HANNAH, b. Sept. 29, 1668; m. Cleaves.
- 5. iv. ENOCH, b. Dec. 29, 1670.
- v. MARY, b. Jan. 5, 1673; m. Chard.
- vi. JOHN, b. April 19, 1676; m. Mary, dau. of John and Hannah Shaw, and removed to Middleboro'.
- vii. ELIZABETH, b. Sept. 22, 1679; d. Nov. 27, 1738.
- 6. viii. JOSEPH, b. Oct. 25, 1684.

After the death of his wife, Jane, James m. (2) Anna — her parentage is also unknown — by whom he had:

- ix. ANNA, b. Nov. 20, 1697.

James died in Weymouth, in 1706, leaving a large property, as is shown by the bequests contained in his will, of which his son Enoch was executor and residuary legatee.

4. JAMES,³ (*James,² Robert¹*), was also a resident of Weymouth, living probably in the easterly part of the town. He married Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth Poole. They had:

- 7. i. JAMES, birth not recorded.
- ii. JANE, who m. Mar. 18, 1717, Joshua Torrey.
- 8. iii. ENOCH, b. Mar. 11, 1702.
- iv. JOSEPH, b. 1706; m. Sarah, dau. of John and Mary Hollis, and resided in Braintree.
- v. DAVID, b. Dec. 11, 1711.

vi. SAMUEL, b. 1709.

vii. ISAAC, b. June 15, 1714; m. Jan. 12, 1737, Judith, dau. of Seth and Sarah (Thayer) Dorman of Norton, in Braintree, and perhaps removed to that town; afterwards settled in Mansfield, Conn. Of the other sons, David, Joseph and Samuel, nothing further has been ascertained.

James died 1718, his son James, and son-in-law Joshua Torrey, administering upon his estate, which was appraised at £1,232 7s. His wife Elizabeth died the previous year, Sept. 27.

5. Capt. ENOCH,³ (*James,² Robert¹*), was a man of standing and influence in the town and church, residing upon the old homestead. He m. Nov. 24, 1697, Mary, dau. of Thomas and Sarah Reed. He died May 20, 1746, his wife Mary having preceded him May 5, 1745. He left a large estate to his children. They had:

- i. MARY, b. Aug. 15, 1698; m. Oct. 30, 1718, Ebenezer Hunt.
- 9. ii. JOSHUA, b. Sept. 22, 1699.
- iii. SARAH, b. Nov. 15, 1701; m. (date of publication Oct. 23, 1725) Nathaniel White.

10. iv. DAVID, b. March 6, 1704.

- v. HANNAH, b. Nov. 21, 1707; d. July 11, 1711.
- vi. HANNAH, birth not recorded; m. June 1, 1732, Jonathan White.

6. JOSEPHII,³ (*James,² Robert¹*); of whom but little is known, beyond the facts that he lived and died in Weymouth. His estate was divided by order of Court April 24, 1732. He m. Ruth, dau. of James and Ruth Richards. She died a widow, June 2, 1766. He died March 2, 1723. They had:

- i. RUTH, b. Dec. 20, 1709, who m. April 22, 1731, John Whitmarsh.
- ii. MARY, b. Feb. 21, 1712, who m. Dec. 17, 1730, Ebenezer Porter, Ju.
- iii. ANN, b. July 7, 1715; d. Sept. 3, 1715.
- iv. JANE, b. June 16, 1717.
- v. SILENCE, b. June 18, 1719.
- vi. SARAH, b. May 2, 1721.
- vii. HANNAH, b. Dec. 17, 1722.

The four younger daughters probably all died young, as there is no mention of any but the two eldest in the division of the estate; they, with the widow, inheriting the whole. It was located upon the northerly border of Whitman's Pond.

7. JAMES,⁴ (*James,³ James,² Robert¹*); m. June 10, 1718, Betty Perkins of Hingham, where he probably afterwards resided. There are on record the births of the following children in Weymouth:

- i. THOMAS, b. Nov. 11, 1720.
- ii. PERKINS, b. Jan. 30, 1724.

Nothing further has been ascertained respecting him or his family.

8. ENOCH,⁴ (*James,³ James,² Robert¹*); m. Feb. 20, 1724, Mary Beals. But little is known respecting him. He died in 1759, his son Enoch and Samuel Ward being administrators upon his estate. They had:

- i. ELISHA, b. Dec. 23, 1725; m. Nov. 23, 1758, Sarah, dau. of Joseph and Sarah (Porter) Trufant. They had two sons, Enoch and John, who lived in Hingham.
- ii. OBADIAH, b. Feb. 17, 1729; m. Sept. 11, 1755, Ruth Beal.
- iii. MICAH, b. Feb. 27, 1734; d. May 11, 1735.

iv. **MICAH**, b. not on record; m. Jan. 15, 1763, Lydia, dau. of Micah and Bethiah (Allen) Turner. They had two sons, David and Lemuel, and lived at Lovell's Corner. He died Jan. 12, 1798.

v. **MARY**, b. not on record; d. 1759.

9. **JOSHUA**,⁴ (*Enoch*,³ *James*,² *Robert*,¹); inherited a large part of the paternal estate, upon which he lived and died. He was a prominent man in the community, and an ensign in the militia. He m. (1) (date of publishment July 15, 1727) Sarah, dau. of Joseph and Sarah Shaw. She died March 22, 1733, and he m. (2) Dec. 19, 1734, Betty Pratt. He died Nov. 24, 1763, and his widow afterward m. Philip Torrey. Joshua and Sarah had:

- i. **SARAH**, b. Aug. 9, 1728; m. May 2, 1751, Jonathan Trufant.
- ii. **MARY**, b. Feb. 5, 1730; m. Nov. 23, 1749, Matthew Pratt.
- iii. **JOSHUA**, b. Sept. 8, 1731; m. Elizabeth Pratt. She died March 20, 1790. They had two children, Samuel and Sarah. He was drowned, 1756.
- iv. **HANNAH**, b. March 17, 1733; m. (publ.) April 13, 1751, Ezra Porter.
- v. **DAVID**, b. Sept. 4, 1735; d. Nov. 14, 1735.
- vi. **DAVID**, b. Aug. 2, 1736; m. May 4, 1768, Sarah Waterman, and had three children: Betty, who m. Jona. Lewis; David, who m. Hannah Nash; and Enoch, who probably d. 1785.
- vii. **JACOB**, b. Aug. 25, 1637; m. Feb. 16, 1760, Mary Tower of Hingham, by whom he had eight children: Mary, Joshua, Lydia, Jacob, Hannah, Jacob, Stephen and Lucy.

viii. BETTY, b. Sept. 25, 1742; m. May 17, 1764, Joshua Whitmarsh.

10. DAVID,⁴ (*Enoch*,³ *James*,² *Robert*¹); graduated at Harvard in the class of 1725; was employed as a teacher for a few years, and, as tradition has it, preaching occasionally. He lived for a time in Abington, where his children were born, but his gravestone stands in the Old North Cemetery, Weymouth. He died Nov. 25, 1733, in his 30th year. He m. (publ. Jan. 11, 1730) Mary, dau. of John and Mary (Symmes) Torrey, who was b. Oct. 11, 1711. They had:

- i. ELEANOR, b. Aug. 7, 1730, who m. (publ. Sept. 22, 1750) Joseph Webb, by whom she had five children: Mary, Eleanor, Lydia, Joseph and Sarah. The family afterwards removed from town.
- 11. ii. SOLOMON, b. June 1, 1732.
Widow Mary, m. (2) (publ. July 17, 1737) Lieut. Sam'l Kingman, by whom she had a large family of children.
- 11. SOLOMON,⁵ (*David*,⁴ *Enoch*,³ *James*,² *Robert*¹). He was twice married; the first time, Jan. 19, 1758, to Lydia, dau. of John and Sarah (Hunt) Holbrook, who was born Sept. 3, 1734, and died May 21, 1761, having had two children.
 - i. A child, d. 1759.
 - ii. LYDIA, b. May 17, 1761, who m. Nov. 20, 1796, Nathaniel Beal of Quincy, and died Dec. 15, 1830.

He m. (2) May, 1762, Hannah, dau. of James and Hannah (Reed) Pittey;* b. Dec. 8,

*The name Pittey has a variety of forms and is written in perhaps a dozen different ways; the above being that universally found upon the grave-stones, and quite generally upon the public records, has been adopted by the author as conforming most closely to the usage of the family.

1730; d. July 8, 1795. He d. Sept. 9, 1801.
They had:

- iii. **JAMES**, b. Jan. 27, 1763; d. March 30, 1763.
- iv. **SARAH**, b. May 5, 1764.
- v. **HANNAH**, b. Oct. 18, 1765; d. Dec. 19, 1765.
- vi. **HANNAH**, b. ; d. June 14, 1767.
- vii. **JAMES**, b. Jan. 1, 1768. He was educated a physician, but did not follow his profession to any considerable degree, living the life of a private gentleman. He m. Nov. 8, 1798, Mrs. Priscilla Winch, but had no issue, and died April 8, 1820. His widow afterwards m. Capt. Josiah Bass of Quincy, June 27, 1821.

12. viii. **HANNAH**, b. July 6, 1771; m. Capt. Luther Little, Jan. 4, 1798.

13. ix. **MARY**, b. April 28, 1773; m. Capt. Wm. Wildes, Sept. 4, 1794.

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